1970 January to June LABOR CHALLENGE, correspondence & documents)
League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/YS-LJS
**Archival Items*

1970-02Feb9-lc1 **Vol. 1 No.1** Vietnam War fighter Bertrand Russell dead

*1970-Feb-lc1 Bosses, gov't preparing major wage freeze

*1970-Feb-lc1 Antiwar movement bigger than ever

*1970-Feb-lc1 New socialist center opens; Novack speaker

*1970-Feb-lc1 Who we are, what we want

*1970-Feb-lc1 Max Armstrong – Exemplary working class militant

1970-02Feb-lc1-2 NDP Council rejects bid to seat women leaders

*1970-Feb-LC1 'Commonwealth' slanders NDP socialist grouping

1970-02Feb-lc1-3 NDP Left Caucus growing – 'Waffle News' reports

*1970-Feb-lc1 NDP to contest Vancouver's civic elections (on file)

1970-02Feb-lc1-4 Big campus interest in YS talk on mideast revolution

1970-02Feb-lc1-5 Universities beauty pageant challenged by women (photo)

1970-02Feb-lc1-6 Vallières, Gagnon political prisoners

1970-02Feb-lc1-7 Parley on workers control slated for March 13-14

*1970-Feb-lc1 Program of Czech revolutionaries (on file)

*1970-Feb-lc1 Husak arrests 'Trotskyists' in purges (Czech.) (text hidden, file)

1970-02Feb23-lc2 Red Power; The Indians fight back

1970-02Feb-lc2-1b Red Power in Canada (by Dick Fidler)

1970-02Feb-lc2-2a Policy aims debated by NDP left caucus

1970-02Feb-lc2-2b Restructure NDP's policy committee, Mel Watkins says

*1970-Feb-LC2 Plan massive spring antiwar offensive

*1970-Feb-LC2	Hamilton trade union group to oppose Viet war
*1970-Feb-LC2	'Year of the Pig' is best Vietnam film
1970-02Feb-lc2-3	Repeal of abortion laws now! – women's caucus
1970-Feb23-lc2-4	ABM, Amchitka, the Arctic – how US endangers us
1970-Feb23-lc2-5	Sedition claim thrown out (unilingualist militant Lemieux)
*1970-Feb23-lc2	Max Armstrong- exemplary working-class militant
*1970-Mar	(LSA-LSO) IB: Cross-country reports: Women's Liberation
1970-03Mar	Circular to all branches re: CLC reform program discussion
1970-03Mar9-lc	Stop Trudeau-US deal to sellout natural resources!
1970-03Mar-lc3-2	Canadian imperialism hit by West Indies protests
*1970-Mar-lc3	Our target (LC fund drive) $14,500 by May 1 (info)
1970-03Mar-lc3-3	International Womens Day 60 years of struggle
1970-03Mar-lc3-4	Picket National Press Club to protest ban on women
1970-03Mar-lc3-5	Black, Indian militants rally (in Toronto for Malcolm X)
*1970-Mar-lc3	Labor, NDP unite behind Vancouver antiwar action
*1970-Mar-LC3	Spring antiwar offensive Apr. 18
*1970-Mar-LC3	Nixon escalades war on Laos – Pathet Lao fighters
*1970-Mar-LC3	Ottawa rally protests complicity in Viet war
+1970-03Mar-lc3	Hugo Blanco documents Series 1/3
+1970-03Mar-lc3	Interview with Peruvian revolutionaries
1970-03Mar23-lc4	Government promises more layoffs – Black Power
1970-03Mar-lc4-2	8 convicted in Montreal trial (Sir George W. U. 'riot')
1970-03Mar-lc4-3a	NDP left debates U.S.-Canada relations by Dick Fidler

1970-03Mar-lc4-4	Que feminist groups hail Int'l Women's Day
1970-03Mar23-lc4	Rosa Luxemburg leading woman revolutionist (Henderson)
*1970-Mar-lc4	Early Canada suffrage movement described (file)
*1970-Mar-lc4	New group aims to reform CLC
*1970-Mar-lc4	Interview with jailed Peruvian revolutionaries (2pp – on file)
1970-04Apr27	Circular from RD re: Labor Challenge fund drive
1970-04Apr6-lc5-1	US out of Laos, Cambodia! Qanada quit ICC
*1970-Apr-lc5	(Antiwar) Viet rally set in Edmonton
1970-04Apr-lc5-2	Québécoise socialist nominated (for mayor of Montreal)
1970-04Apr-lc5-3	LSO supports NDP entry (into Quebec election)
1970-04Apr-lc5-4	Revolutionists debate strategy (Vallières & Gagnon speak)
1970-04Apr-lc5-5	Ont NDP left may contest leadership ('Waffle' founded)
1970-04Apr-lc5-6	City politics labor, rôle of labor issues facing BC 'Waffle'
1970-04Apr-lc5-7	NDP must run full slate in Vancouver
1970-04Apr-lc5-8	U of T yields to occupiers on child care
1970-04Apr-lc5-9a	Unionists debate workers control – Industrial democracy
1970-04Apr-lc5-9c	(text of report) Unionists debate workers control
1970-04Apr-lc5 -10	Indian nationhood—3 articles on Red Power (Introduction)
1970-04Apr-lc5 -10b	Toward Nationhood – Canada's « New Indians »
1970-04Apr20-lc6	NDP, socialists in Quebec bid – Women's march on Ottawa
1970-04Apr-lc6-1b	NDP leader Morin backs LSO nominee (in Dorion riding)
1970-04Apr-lc6-1c	March on Ottawa demands women's right to abortion
*1970-Apr-lc6	LSO supports NDP as a step toward labor party (in Que.)(file)

*1970-Apr-lc6	Canadian firms rape West Indies, forum told, by R.D.
1970-04Apr-lc6-2	The struggle for Native sovereignty (Part 3)
1970-04Apr-lc6-3	Lenin on nationalism & the Party
*1970-Apr-lc6	Waffle group founds Saskatchewan wing (on file)
1970-04Apr-lc6-4	Continue antiwar protests, Fourth International urges
*1970-May-lc6	2 weeks and $4600 to go (LC fund drive)
1970-05May4-lc7	Photo – April rally for women's rights at Queen's Park
*1970-May-lc7	Trinidad shaken by Black Power revolt (D.F.) (on file)
1970-05May-lc7-2	Exemplary campaign by Quebec socialists (LSO)
1970-05May-lc7-3a	Léger debates Steel union leader (Photo- Emile Boudreau)
1970-05May-lc7-4	Vancouver NDP votes to run in municipal elections
*1970-May-lc7	Thousands protest Vietnam war (NDP leader Lewis)
1970-05May-lc7	Bourassa stumped by free abortion demand (Quebec)
*1970-May-lc7	Motherhood and male 'superiority' – reply to Dr. Spock
*1970-May-lc7	Stop Manitoba sellout! Challenge before NDP (on file)
1970-05May18-lc8	Student strikes sweep US (Kent State U.
*1970-May-lc8	Why did Nixon do it (invasion of Cambodia)
1970-05May-lc8-2	8000 in Toronto protest (Kent U.) VMC builds for May 30
1970-05May-lc8-3	LSO pointed way to free, French, socialist Quebec
1970-05May-lc8-4a	PQ gains reflect national ferment (A.Young)
1970-05May-lc8-5	March for right to abortion
1970-05May-lc8-6	Banff parley debates NDP-Waffle ties
1970-05May-lc8-7	Student walkout supports Ottawa teachers' demands

1970-05May-lc8-8 Manitoba NDP vs. Big business (over auto insurance)

1970-05May-lc8-9 May Day rallies to support *Labor Challenge*

1970-06Jun1-lc9-1 Socialist candidate (SWP) hits cops' murder of Blacks

*1970-Jun-lc9 U.S. Rocked by social crisis (Joseph Hansen, SWP) (on file)

*1970-06Jun-lc9-2 How the revolution shook Triniday (eyewitnessJR**)**

1970-06Jun-lc9-3a (Quebec) Workers rally to demand for independence

1970-06Jun-lc9-3b Workers rally for Quebec independence (AY)

*1970-Jun-lc9 Trudeau backs US in S-E Asia – Photo- Kiwis protest

*1970-Jun-lc9 NDP brass flunk test – attack Waffle group (RD)

*1970-Jun-lc9 CLC parley reflects new radical forces (RD

1970-06Jun15-lc10 Native contingent in Edmonton antiwar march April 18

1970-06Jun-lc10-2 Large antiwar marches assert right to protest

1970-06Jun-lc10-3 Waffle group debates NDP's relevance

1970-06Jun-lc10-4 'Back labor,' BC NDP told at convention

*1970-Jun-LC10 Photo - 25,000 unionists march in New York against war

*1970-Jun-LC10 Large antiwar marches assert right to protest

1970-06Jun-lc10-5 New LSO organizer poses future tasks

1970-06Jun-lc10-6 Why Canada is target of Caribbean upsurge (file)

1970-06Jun-lc10-7 Independence – the Marxist view (Quebec)(DF)

1970-06Jun-lc10-8 Vallières released –major victory for united front defense

1970-06Jun29-lc11 Marchers say 'Abortion is our right'

1970-06Jun-lc11-1 Abortions partisan faces imprisonment (Dr. Morgentaler)

1970-06Jun-lc11-2a What kind of movement? (Women's Liberation)

1970-06Jun-lc11-2b	Author- Marlie Ritchie – Contact socialists in your area
*1970-Jun-lc11	Cambodian resistance rises (P. C.
1970-06Jun-lc11-3	Socialist classes underway
*1970-06Jun-lc11	Lessons of Trinidad upsurge (on file)

Bosses, gov't, are preparing major wage freeze offensive

See page 3

labor Challenge
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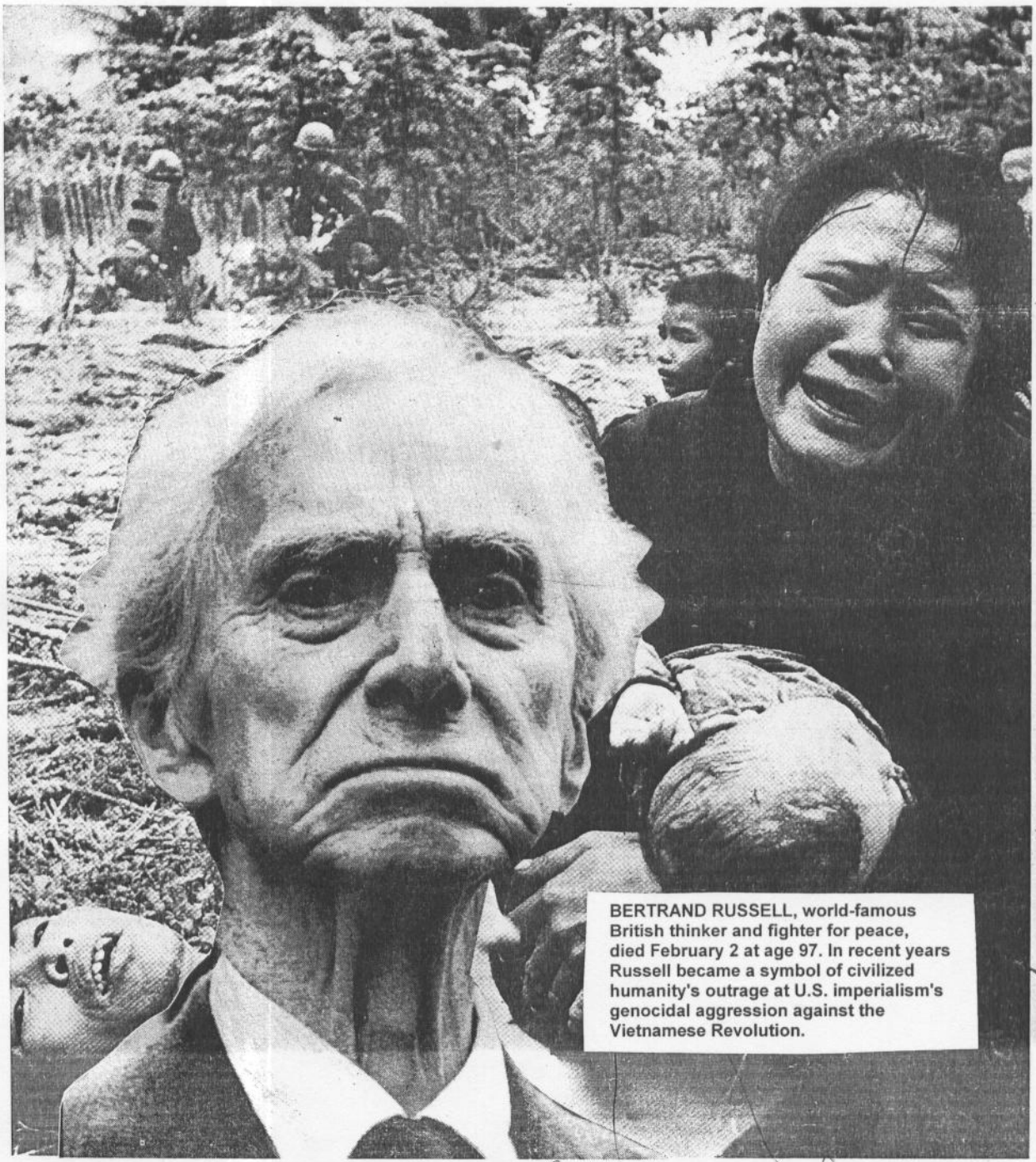
Vol. 1, No. 1
Feb. 9, 1970

In defense of NDP left caucus
page 6



BERTRAND RUSSELL, world-famous British thinker and fighter for peace, died February 2 at age 97. In recent years Russell became a symbol of civilized humanity's outrage at U.S. imperialism's genocidal aggression against the Vietnamese Revolution.

labor Challenge #1 - Feb. 1970

NDP council rejects bid to seat women leaders

The issue of women's representation on the top governing body of the New Democratic Party dominated the Jan. 31 weekend meeting of the party's federal council in Toronto.

The council rejected a bid by five women chosen by the women's caucus at the Winnipeg convention to take their seats on the council as representatives of the women's caucus. Instead, it voted by 28-25 to elect a 13-member Women's Participation Committee which would then select the five women council members. The 13 elected by the council are all supporters of the right wing of the NDP, which heavily dominates the council, while four of the five women democratically elected by the women's caucus at Winnipeg were vocal supporters of the left wing forces supporting the Watkins manifesto, For an Independent Socialist Canada.

The women's caucus, a representative gathering of women delegates with a sprinkling of men delegates, met several times during the Winnipeg federal convention and campaigned on the convention floor in an inspiring attempt to win support in the party for the right of women to play a bigger political role in the NDP. As a result of their efforts, a majority of delegates — although not the two-thirds necessary to amend the constitution — had voted to support a resolution giving women 15 seats on the federal council.

Immediately after the convention, the caucus had elected delegates to the council, in accordance with the wording of the NDP constitution section giving the old Women's Committee the authority to name five representatives to the council. This is what the male-dominated council has rejected.

Carole Fogel, leader of the Winnipeg Five and an executive assistant to Manitoba's cultural affairs minister, said of the 13 "establishment types" elected by the council: "They've never done anything to advance the political rights and participation of women in the NDP and in Canada generally."

Following their rejection by council, the Five, who had agreed in advance that they would stand only as a group, and not individually, encouraged supporters to spoil their ballots on the vote for the Women's Participation Committee. About a dozen ballots were spoiled. At a subsequent meeting with women members of the Ontario left caucus, the women expressed their determination to continue the struggle for women's rights within the party.

Feminists open new center

The feminist movement in Toronto took a big step forward when the headquarters of the New Feminists, a radical women's liberation group, was opened recently at 67 Huntley Street. The New Feminists have organized several effective protest actions in Toronto, including the demonstration last November to protest wage discrimination against women workers of Metro Toronto employed at the Greenacres Home for the Aged.

Their headquarters, which provides a center for feminists and women's liberation activists from across Toronto, contains meeting rooms, an office and a reading room-library. It is open on a regular basis for meetings, seminars and informal discussions.

The third issue of *The New Feminist*, the monthly paper published by the New Feminists, has just appeared. Like the two preceding issues, it contains a variety of articles on different aspects of feminism and on some of the problems before the movement. Copies (25¢ each) or subscriptions ($3.00 a year) are available from the New Feminist, 67 Huntley Street, Toronto 285.

labor Challenge #1 Feb 1970

'Waffle News' reports

NDP left caucus growing

An impressive list of activities from teach-ins to pickets are being carried by the NDP socialist caucus across the country. Here is a sampling from recent issues of the *Waffle News*, the caucus' monthly communications bulletin. (To get on the mailing list, write to Tracy Morey, 118 Wurtemburg St., Ottawa.)

* Nova Scotia: A series of regional meetings is being held, and a conference on structural under-development in the Maritimes, anticipated for the spring. A newsletter, with Bruce Archibald as editor, will help coordinating efforts.

* Ontario: Two active groups exist in Toronto and Ottawa, where committees are handling labor, party and community organizing. The Ottawa Waffle group has set up a service called Keeping Tabs on the Caucus, which will keep an eye on the activities of the party caucus in the Commons. The first of the regular reports from KTC criticizes MPs David Orlikow and Mark Rose for their support of government trusteeship of the Company of Young Canadians.

Mel Watkins, Walter Gordon and Michel Chartrand head the list of participants lined up for the March 6-7 teach-in on Americanization of Canada, being sponsored by the Toronto Waffle group. Panels will deal with The Relation of Organized Labor to Canadian Independence; English Canada and Quebec; Universities; and Canadian Foreign Policy. Organizers hope for an attendance of 2,000.

* Manitoba: Here, the caucus under the leadership of Cy Gonick, is concentrating on the development of a New Democratic Youth section. Monthly meetings are being held and research projects geared towards the provincial convention are being prepared. Groups are forming in Brandon and Thompson.

* Saskatchewan: A provincial Waffle group was launched at a meeting in Moose Jaw on Dec. 21. A five-man steering committee is coordinating preparation of position papers for the future provincial meetings and the upcoming national conference.

* Alberta: A series of regional meetings are being held, two of which feature Harold Cardinal, leading Indian spokesman and author of the best-seller *The Unjust Society*. The Alberta group is planning to work with the party and local unions on antipollution policies.

A regional conference to rally Western supporters of the NDP left heads the list of priorities of Wafflers west of Ontario. Date of the conference depends largely on the time of the national conference, which should be decided shortly.

The January issue of *Waffle News* also features short comments on Resources Minister Greene's willingness to go along with U.S. proposals to "integrate" North American oil, natural gas, coal and hydro-electric power resources, and on the implications of the Canada-U.S. auto pact, as seen by the *Financial Post*.

Another aspect of socialist activity, although not directly part of the caucus, nevertheless strongly supported by it, are the efforts women are making to gain equal status in the party. In Ontario, for example, a provincial women's caucus is being sparked into existence by several Waffle supporters. The efforts to seat on the Federal Council the five women elected by the women's caucus at the federal convention, was assisted by the Waffle caucus.

The list of subscribers to *Waffle News* numbers around 400, and the January issue estimates total expressed support for the caucus across the country at "over 500." Since many thousand of NDP activists support the caucus' views, however, it is obvious that there is a great potential support still to be contacted and organized.

labor Challenge #1 Feb. 1970

Big interest on campus in Mideast revolution

by Harry Kopyto

Over 1,200 students attended meetings which I addressed across the country in January on the topic "Zionism and the Arab Revolution". This fact alone indicates that the Middle East crisis has become an important issue in the student movement.

The tour, which was organized by the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, had many highlights. In Saskatoon, I debated an editor of the *Jewish Liberation Journal* who flew in from New York for the occasion. In Edmonton, Al Hazan, a regional director of the Federated Zionist Organization came in from Calgary to debate me at one of the largest meetings yet held by the Young Socialists on the U of Alberta campus.

The discussion periods were lively everywhere and in Montreal, some Zionists were so carried away by their enthusiasm for their own cause that they attempted, unsuccessfully, to stop me from speaking. Thanks to the presence of defense guards from the McGill University Arab Students Association, the meeting was able to proceed peacefully.

The tour drew extensive press coverage and radio interviews.

I spoke with many Arab activists in the course of the tour, including two members of Fatah, a leading Palestinian liberation movement. Arab communities across Canada are beginning to organize in defense of the developing Arab revolution. As well, many Jewish youth are losing interest in the cause of the state of Israel and Zionism, and some are beginning to identify with the revolutionary forces in the Arab countries.

As Zionism leads the Hebrew nation inexorably to more war and bloodshed and the Zionist state of Israel becomes increasingly dependent on U.S. imperialism, disillusionment with Israel's present course is bound to grow.

Policies of expansionism and racism have already tarnished the Zionist halo;

Harry Kopyto

the struggle of the Palestinians for self-determination is gaining broader support among left elements which have tended to be schizoid on this question in the past. Dissension and differences are even beginning to crack up the Zionist monolith in Israel itself. The next few years may very well see the growth in Canada of a defense movement for the Arab revolution similar to the one that exists now for the Vietnamese revolution.

labor Challenge #1 Feb. 1970

'I HAVE A MIND'. Among entrants in Miss Canadian Universities Pageant at Waterloo Lutheran University this year were two protest candidates, Janiel Jolley (left) of Simon Fraser University, and Judy Darcy (right) of York University. Janiel was disqualified on grounds of "previous marriage", but Judy was semi-finalist. During contest finale, Janiel walked onto stage and, despite patronizing MC'e heckling, explained how such contests degrade women, and called on contestants to join her. Judy Darcy then withdrew from the contest, but was denied right to speak. As they left stage, their supporters in audience left singing Solidarity Forever and joined about 200 women and their men supporters demonstrating outside. It was the first united action involving women's liberation groups from across the country.

companies are lax in looking for phosphate

labor Challenge #1 Feb 1970

Repression in Quebec

Vallieres, Gagnon, political prisoners

by Dick Fidler

The long-drawn out court proceedings against Quebec revolutionists Pierre Vallieres and Charles Gagnon, who have been held without bail for almost three and a half years now, continue to provide instructive examples of the state of justice in the province of Quebec.

In their second trial arising from the 1966 bombing death of a secretary in the strike-bound LaGrenade shoe factory, the two leaders of the neo-FLQ, which was implicated in the bombing, were tried separately late last year on similar charges of manslaughter. The Crown testimony was similar. The witnesses were identical.

Yet when it was all over, 12 persons had voted unanimously to free Charles Gagnon, and twelve others voted unanimously to condemn Pierre Vallieres. The latter was sentenced to serve a further 2 1/ 2 years in prison. (In their first trials, Gagnon's jury was unable to agree, while Vallieres' conviction was overturned by the Quebec Court of Appeals, which held he had been convicted for his views, not his acts.) Vallieres is appealing his conviction.

During Vallieres' trial, the Crown's witness, Serge Demers, a member of the neo-FLQ presently serving time for complicity in the LaGrenade bombing, testified that Vallieres was against violence and that he and Gagnon had had nothing to do with the LaGrenade case. The Crown responded to this unhelpful testimony from its star witness by laying no less than 19 charges of perjury against Demers in the middle of the Vallieres trial!

In a letter to the Quebec ombudsman, Vallieres and Gagnon pointed to the well-publicized charges against Demers as evidence of a conspiracy by the Crown to intimidate the jury. They cited other evidence:

— on the eve of the most recent trials, the Quebec government appointed a special prosecutor, Yves Mayrand, and laid charges of sedition against the two revolutionists based on Vallieres' book *Negres blancs d'Amerique* (White Niggers of America), which had been sold publicly in Quebec for 18 months.

— Also while Vallieres was being tried in Montreal, the Montreal city authorities were attempting to whip up a witch-hunt hysteria against Vallieres by linking him with a so-called "plan for global revolution" in Quebec, in testimony before the federal parliamentary committee investigating the Company of Young Canadians. Tory, Socred and Liberal MPs joined in this attack.

In addition, Vallieres and Gagnon cite repeated harassment of Crown witnesses who were associated with the FLQ; charging that they have been kept in "inhuman" conditions of solitary confinement and were refused parole, for which they are eligible, because of the arbitrary intervention of the Quebec ministry of justice.

In a letter to the two revolutionists, released Jan. 27, the ombudsman in effect acknowledged the truth of their charges, and said he had been assured that the solitary confinement of the witnesses "will not be repeated," and that Demers, who has waited threeyears to be tried on his original charges of perjury, will be brought to trial in March.

Jacques Larue-Langlois, chairman of the Committee to Aid the Vallieres-Gagnon Group, says the committee is preparing "a dossier on the situation in Quebec" which it intends to present to the Bertrand Russell tribunal. The tribunal has exposed U.S. and allied war crimes in Vietnam. Justice Minister Remi Paul responded by threatening to arrest the members of the tribunal if they come to Quebec, and charge them with "contempt of court."

Meanwhile, both Pierre Vallieres and Charles Gagnon face further charges of conspiracy in connection with three FLQ bombings in 1966. When Vallieres sought last month to have the charges withdrawn, presiding judge Roger Ouimet convicted him of contempt of court and sentenced him to a further six months of prison, plus another month for Vallieres' statement when told his bail application had once again been refused: "I am disgusted by Quebec justice."

Defense committee chairman Larue-Langlois was also arrested Jan. 6 and charged with obstructing justice, disobeying a court order, and contempt of court, for a demonstration Dec. 18 when Vallieres was sentenced.

In an open letter published in the Montreal daily *Le Devoir* Jan. 6 Vallieres exposes the sorry history of their case — the intimidation of juries, the distortions of bourgeois politicians, the threats against their lawyers — and advocates that in future political prisoners be judged before special courts of State security. "There at least things would be clear and the adversaries clearly identified." He also suggests that if the Crown proceeds with new trials, he might refuse to speak, "from the beginning to the end of the trial, thus radically repudiating the rules of a game which is stacked against us in advance."

The current issue of *La Lutte Ouvriere*, the revolutionary socialist newspaper, features a front-page appeal in defense of Vallieres and Gagnon.

To rescue them from the hands of bourgeois justice, "which for three days has treated them in the shabbiest possible way," the appeal says, "is an elementary task of all those who aspire to be called revolutionary or even democratic."

REPRESSION IN QUEBEC. About one hundred political prisoners, including Vallieres and Gagnon, are presently languishing in Quebec's jails and penitentiaries. Here, police manhandle a demonstrator at Montreal St. Jean Baptiste parade in 1968.

labor Challenge #1 Feb. 1970

Parley on workers control is slated for March 13-14

The question of industrial democracy will get its biggest airing yet in Canada with the coming conference jointly sponsored by the Woodsworth Foundation and Praxis Corporation (research institute for social change).

It will take place in Toronto March 13 and 14.

Interest in this question of workers' involvement, not only in conditions of work on the plant level that have been generally conceded to organized labor, but on into the traditional perogatives of management and even control over the industry itself, has been developing in wider circles of the labor and socialist movement.

NDP MP Ed Broadbent's proposal presented to the NDP's federal council last summer, the ensuing debate that involved OFL education representative Morden Lazarus and Anthony Carew formerly of the CBRT & GW, the inclusion of this concept by the Watkins group in its statement for an Independent, Socialist Canada, which found an echo in last fall's OFL convention, are all eloquent testimony to that fact.

According to preliminary reports on the preparations for the conference a wide range of viewpoints ranging all the way from "co-determination", a veneer of participation by the workers in areas which the owners feel useful to their purposes, to concepts that would lead to the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of socialist democracy will be expressed. Among the speakers and session chairmen will be David Archer, president of the OFL; Charles Millard, retired leader of the Steelworkers; Steel staff members Murray Cotterill and Lynn Williams; UAW leader Dennis McDermott; Professors Abe Rotstein and Paul Blumberg; MP Ed Broadbent; Gill Levine and Andre Beckerman of CUPE, along with Gerry Hunnius of Praxis.

A special appeal is to be issued to all union locals and labor councils to send representatives. Praxis has also announced that it is setting up a bureau of speakers who would be prepared to address any union local or interested organization.

Our target - $14,500 by May 1st

This is the third issue of LABOR CHALLENGE — so you are in the picture. You can see what it's about.

You will have appreciated its informative coverage of the world-wide and Canadian struggle for a better society. You can appreciate what a fine instrument it is in the hands of anti-Vietnam war activists, NDP and trade union militants, women's liberation fighters — in fact anyone who is really involved or wants to get involved.

Good. For besides your subscription to LABOR CHALLENGE, so that you get it regularly and on time in your mail, we need a financial contribution from you.

With this issue we are launching a campaign to raise $14,500 by May Day, May 1st.

The only place such a paper as ours can get them is from working people like you. That's a lot of money but it's the bare minimum we can squeeze by with, to pay the staff, the typesetter, the printer.

It is your responsibility to help finance this paper. Don't leave it to someone else and don't delay putting your cheque or money order in the mail.

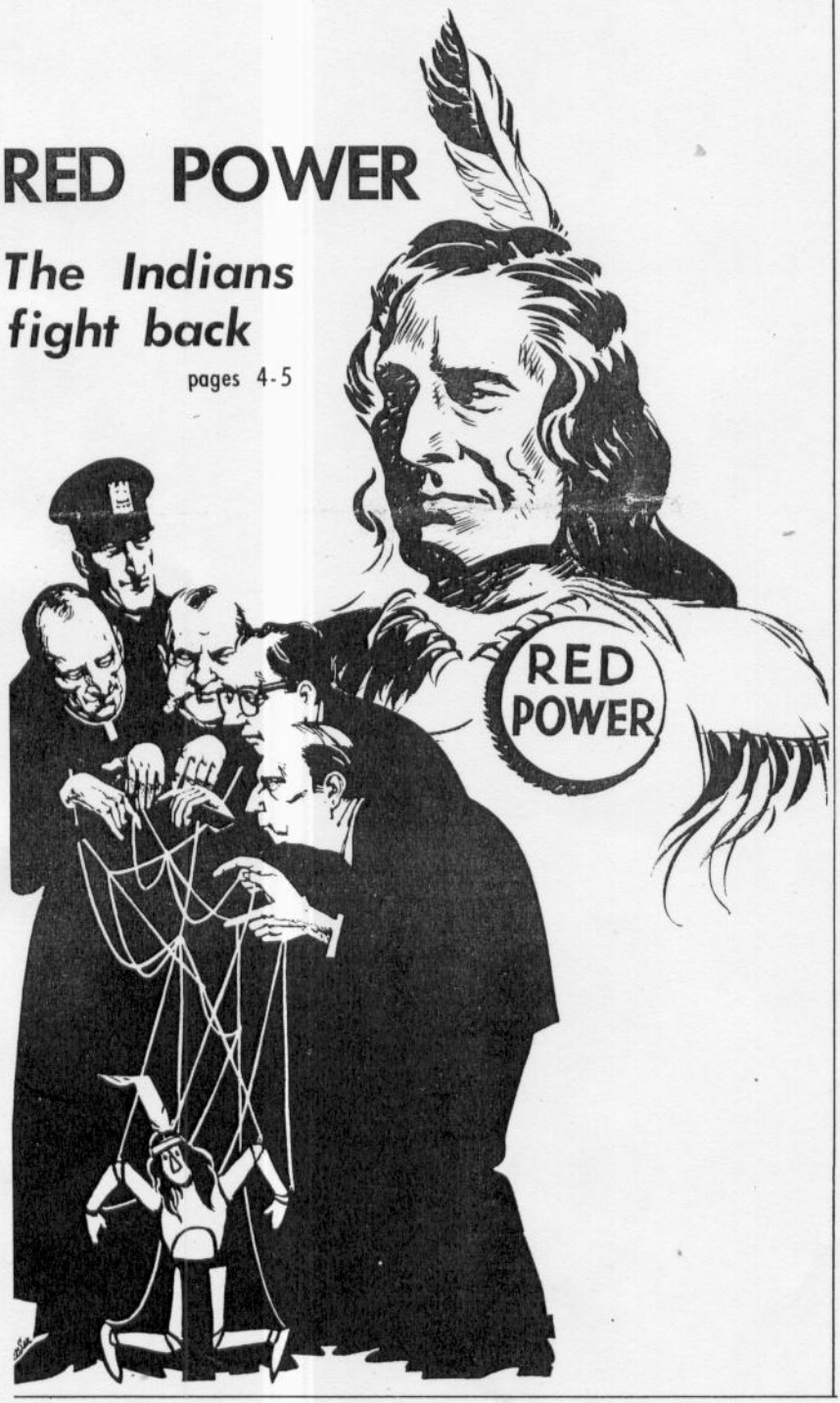
We need as much as you can possibly give to make our objective. With your help we will obtain the necessary $14,500.

Launch B.C. labor daily now!

labor Challenge

15 cents

Vol. 1, No. 2
Feb. 23, 1970



Will the union movement in British Columbia launch a daily newspaper? B.C. has the highest percentage of organized workers of any area in the country. The NDP has been the official opposition in Victoria for decades and moves are afoot to put a labor administration in Vancouver's city hall this year. The question of a labor daily has now been sharply posed by the simple fact that Vancouver and area is without daily newspapers.

Pacific Press, owned by the giant publications monopoly of Southam and FP Publications which controls the two dailies The Sun and The Province, has locked out all its employees and suspended publication.

This latest action by the lords of the press followed on the heels of an injunction obtained by the company from the Supreme Court against three of the five newspaper unions for alleged production slowdowns.

The company has been stalling on negotiations of a new contract with the five unions representing its 1,150 employees since the old contracts expired last Fall — on October 31.

Pending the negotiation of the new contract, those of the International Typographical Union, the Mailers Union and the Newspaper Guild remained in effect. But now, with the lockout, these contracts have been terminated.

The workers with all the requisite skills are out on the streets. The B.C. Federation of Labor's Labour Statesman was killed by Postmaster-General Kierans' discriminatory postal increases. The Joint Council of Newspaper Unions, the B.C. Federation of Labor, all labor, needs a press of its own — above all to fight the union-busting Socred government. The funds can be raised. The time is ripe for a big breakthrough — for a B.C. labor daily.

Raise prices freeze wages Ottawa says

By John Riddell

"Platitudes, time-worn ideas, meaningless agreements," these were the first critical reactions to Trudeau's federal-provincial conference on inflation held in Ottawa Feb. 16-17. The decisions of Ottawa's previous businessmen's conference were adopted without controversy — not surprising since the decision did little more than reiterate that inflation is unfortunate, binding neither business nor government to any concrete steps to fight it.

If the two conferences achieved little against inflation, perhaps it was because the Trudeau government had another enemy in mind — the labor movement. The conferences were to create an atmosphere — one of business and government unity against rising prices — to enable labor to be singled out as the villain, and pressured into an agreement to limit wage demands.

As the Toronto Star commented Feb. 17, "in the next few weeks the (Prices and Incomes) commission will be bringing increasing pressure to bear on the labor movement for a statement on wage restraint."

A week earlier, Trudeau's conference with 300 of Canada's key business tycoons was heralded by the Star as "the biggest peacetime collaboration between government and business in memory." Its achievement was presented as a voluntary agreement by the men who run the Canadian economy to scale down price increases and accept the resulting

See page 3

RED POWER IN CANADA

(From Labor Challenge, February 1970)
Published by Vanguard Publications
334 Queen Street W
Toronto 113, Ont.

by Dick Fidler

CONTENTS

1 - The condition of the Indians

2 - The Developing Movement

3 - Program of the National Alliance for Red Power

4 - Toward Nationhood

5 - A New Commonwealth

1 - The Condition of the Indians

By way of an introduction

Canada's native Indian population numbers around 500,000 — about half of them (237,490 in 1968) living on more than 2,000 reserves, and the remainder outside direct federal government jurisdiction and the provisions of the Indian Act. In addition, there are 350,000 mixed-blood Metis. The total Indian population in the United States is roughly similar, a little more than half a million, with an additional several hundred thousand Indians out on their own, more or less assimilated. Thus, Canada's Indian population is nearly ten times greater than the American as a percentage of total population.

The vast majority of native Indian people suffer incredible, soul-breaking poverty. The government's Hawthorn-Tremblay study, published in 1967, found that of a sample survey of over 22,000 families in Indian communities across Canada, 74 percent made less than $2,000 in 1964; 47 percent made less than $1,000 a year. (Remember, those are family incomes.) Over half the Indian population is chronically unemployed: the survey reported that 61 percent of the workers held jobs less than 6 months per year; 23.6 percent for less than two months. The Indian unemployment rate is 10 times the national average.

As a result, more than one-third of the households in the Hawthorn-Tremblay survey depended for their livelihood on meager welfare grants from the Indian Affairs Branch — and this figure doesn't account for the

large number of bands providing their own welfare funds. The federal government allots about 25 percent of its Indian affairs budget to welfare payments, as against the 10 percent it devotes to "economic development" on the reserves.

Most government services are either non-existent or of scandalously poor quality. Total spending of the Indian Affairs Branch averages out to $530 per treaty Indian, a year (1967); whereas the federal government spends $740 a year on the average non-Indian Canadian, not to speak of the provincial and municipal government services (e.g. education, health, agriculture, roads, etc.) which our quarter-million treaty Indians do not have access to.

Nine out of 10 Indian homes on reserves have no indoor toilets; barely half have electricity; nearly 60 percent live in houses of three rooms or 1ess. It is estimated that more than 30 percent of the inmates in Canada's jails and training schools *('reform' schools - ed.)* are Indian, although Indians account for less than three percent of the total population. The number of Indians in federal penitentiaries has increased five-fold since 1950 to more than 2500.

While the average Canadian can expect to live to the age of 62, the Indians' life expectancy is only 33 for men, 34 for women. The mortality rate among Indians increased by eight percent between 1965 and 1968 alone. The mortality rate among Indian pre-school children is eight times the national average! Indians are the fastest growing ethnic group in Canada, with an annual population increase of five percent. Half the Indian population is under the age of 16, close to twice the proportion among non-Indians.

This phenomenal population increase, combined with rapidly declining job opportunities for Indian workers - half of whom are engaged in relatively traditional and marginal economic activities like fishing, trapping, hunting, and agriculture - means a tremendous pressure on the Indians to leave the reserves and head for the cities in search of work.

In Manitoba; for example, about half of the province's 80,000 Indians and 30,000 Metis are now subsisting in substandard conditions; in Winnipeg, 10,000 have migrated to the city during the last 10 years, most of them in the last three years. But in the cities, the employment prospect is scarcely better than on the reserves. Only three percent of Winnipeg's inhabitants, the Indians and Metis, account for 12 percent of its welfare cases.

RED POWER IN CANADA

The Developing Movement

Indians in Quebec recently reminded the provincial government that it had failed to sign treaties with them for all of northern Quebec, and that the time had come for a settlement. They claim 85 percent of the province's territory, and have put a price tag of $5 billion on it.

Mohawk Indians from the St. Regis reservation near Cornwall, Ont. recently sat in to block the U.S.-Canadian border crossing. They demanded that the Canadian government recognize the Jay Treaty, signed in the late 18th century between Britain and the United States, which gave Indians the right as sovereign peoples to transport goods across the border free of duty.

The leaders of the 9,000 Indians in the Six Nations Confederacy at Brantford, Ont. have petitioned the United Nations in support of their claim that the Confederacy is a sovereign state, and suggested that Ottawa begin paying rent — including back rent — for its use of land guaranteed to the Indians by treaty with the British crown and never formally revoked. An adequate settlement, they say, might be in the neighborhood of $2 billion.

In Saskatchewan, the Native Action Committee, which seeks local control of government in Metis and Indian communities, ran an independent Red Power candidate, 23-year-old Carole Lavallee in Meadow Lake constituency in the 1968 federal election.

U.S. Sioux leader Vine Deloria, Jr., in a speech in Montreal this month, called for a "mutual defense pact between U.S. and Canadian Indians against the white man."

The ideas and tactics of the Red Power movement are inspired in part by the developing movements of oppressed peoples around the world — and in particular the Vietnamese, the U.S. Blacks and the Québécois. But its roots are to be found in the terribly exploited and oppressed conditions of the Native people right here in Canada, and the growing determination of these half-million original inhabitants of this continent, nearly crushed by literally centuries of colonization, degradation and white "civilization's" attempts to destroy them, to resist the cultural genocide which is staring them in the face. It is these "New Indians" — led by articulate, militant young spokesmen like Harold Cardinal, an Alberta Cree — who are opening up a new, inspiring, and revolutionary chapter in Indian history.

Cardinal's book, *The Unjust Society,* has received attention because it is the most detailed presentation yet published of the Indian side of the story and because it is an eloquent, damning and comprehensive indictment of the Trudeau government's new Indian policy.

That policy was expressed in a "white paper" released by Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien last June, which projected phasing out the Indian Affairs department over the next five years, thereby leaving Canada's quarter-million treaty Indians presently covered by federal services at the mercy of the provinces, many of which do not provide such services.

Harold Cardinal and other Indian spokesmen — who have unanimously condemned the plan — describe it as a blueprint for cultural genocide. They are not exaggerating. It is difficult to imagine any other motivation behind the white paper's proposals than the complete destruction of the Indians as a people. The white paper's starting point is a complete dismissal of the treaties which have been the formal basis of relations between half the Indian population and the government for well over half a century. Trudeau brushed the treaties aside as an "anomaly" not to be tolerated in the Just Society. "It is inconceivable," he said, "that one section of a society should have a treaty with another section of a society..." They should become Canadians as all other Canadians."

But for the Indians, the treaties are the means by which the whites legitimatized in the eyes of the world their presence in the Indians' country. They were negotiated between sovereign peoples, and have great symbolic importance to the Indians. The Indians have never denied that the written terms of the treaties are often misleading; verbal promises (and there were no doubt many on the part of

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On self-determination

" ....Most Indians firmly believe their identity is tied up with treaty and aboriginal rights. No genuine Indian participation in the white world can be expected until the Indian is accepted by himself and by the non-Indian as an Indian person, with an Indian identity."
(from *The Unjust Society* by Harold Cardinal)
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the crafty whites) are omitted; "they carry key phrases that are not precise;" "they state that certain things were ceded that, in actual fact, were never considered so granted by the Indians who signed the treaties." (Cardinal)

But many treaties did make wide-ranging promises which, if interpreted in the light of present-day needs and the Indians' understanding when they were signed, would encompass a vast expansion in government services and the economic status of the Indian people. These include full protection of hunting, trapping and fishing rights, the right of education (while free, it is of such abysmal quality and so unrelated to the cultural traditions and needs of Indians that only 200 Indian youth go to university each year,) provision for full medical services (a reference to the government's duty to provide a medicine chest could, Indians justly argue, be interpreted today to mean free comprehensive medicare) and protection of the Indians' land and encouragement of their future economic development on the reserves.

The government, of course, has instead chosen to give the treaties the narrowest possible interpretation, holding the Indians to the strict letter of their written terms, and wherever there is doubt, unilaterally and arbitrarily deciding in the interests of the white capitalist system.

An example is mineral rights, where Indians whose ancestors thought they were surrendering surface rights only, have been deprived in many instances of rich royalties from new subsurface mineral finds under their lands, while the giant oil and mining monopolies reap huge profits and the white man's government rakes in the taxes.

But the legal documentation that really governs the Indian fate today is not the treaties, which the government considers irrelevant, but the Indian Act as it has developed this century, an Act which once and for all legalized the colonial-like subordination of the Indians to the federal rule. For example, it gives the Minister of Indian Affairs the sole discretionary power to authorize the use of reserve land for schools, hospitals and other projects and to disallow any bylaws enacted by the band; it places the finances of the reserves almost exclusively under the control of the Department and provides the Indians with no protection against laws enacted by the Federal government.

The Act is the legal foundation for the huge bureaucratic apparatus that has grown up to maintain the Indians in a primitive state of abject dependency on the federal government. This bureaucracy is huge, and incredibly inefficient — for example, by 1967, department spending averaged out to $3,180 a year for a family of six, but the average income of Indian families across Canada was only half that amount.

What have the Indians received in return?

A glance at the conditions listed elsewhere on this page gives some idea.

But worse even than the physical poverty, terrible as that is, is the complete denial of the Indians' most precious asset — their self-identity as Indians — by the Ottawa mandarins and their patronizing local agents. Even the **legal** definition of an Indian is up for grabs, thanks to the government's cynical distinction between legal and non-legal Indians. A treaty or "registered" (legal) Indian can enfranchise, thereby getting citizenship, the vote, liquor, but he loses his treaty or aboriginal rights, his right to share in the reserve's communal lands — in short, the one thing that above all defines him as an Indian.

The purely arbitrary, even cruel implications of this distinction reveal just how clearly it is designed to frustrate Indian self-definition and cultural identity. To cite only one example: If an Indian woman marries a non-Indian, she automatically forfeits her claim to be an Indian. But; if a non-Indian woman marries a treaty or registered Indian, she becomes a legal Indian, regardless of her color (although her children will not necessarily be Indians — a further complication.)

The constant humiliation of the Indian, designed to make him ashamed of his origins, his culture, language, and history, of course is particularly blatant in the educational system and is eloquently documented by Harold Cardinal from his bitter personal experience.

Even the narrowest provisions of the treaties have been violated continually by the government. The courts have overruled longstanding exemptions of Indians from white men's laws restricting hunting, fishing and international customs duties. Treaty promises by the white conquerors to encourage economic development of Indian lands have been entirely ignored.

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On the Trudeau government's "White Paper" — ***"***. . .a program which offers nothing better than cultural genocide . . .extermination through assimilation." "In attempting to remove all constitutional protection for Indians, the government is attempting to eliminate unilaterally, once and for all, its obligations under the treaties as understood by Indians."
(from *The Unjust Society* by Harold Cardinal.)
==========end box==========

And thus the Indian people find themselves confined in a deepening vicious circle of poverty, unemployment and welfare payments. Forced by an expanding birth rate and declining economic perspectives on the reserves to emigrate to the cities, they form there a growing sub-proletariat, more or less permanently unemployed, or grossly underpaid, totally unaccepted by white society,

The consistently high rate of unemployment among the Indians — about one-third of the total number of those listed as looking for work in Canada — is shocking evidence of how totally unable capitalism is to absorb this "reserve army of labor" into its economic structures.

But white capitalist society's rejection of the Indian is no less equaled by the Indian's rejection of all the attempts of the system to smash his identity. Today, it is precisely those young Indians who have been most subjected to the influences of the white world — its cities, its educational system, its culture — who are moving out in the vanguard of the struggles to organize their people. And the developing spirit of militancy is strongest among those Indians who have managed to some small degree to move in the white man's world, without giving up their sense of identity as Indians: the high steel workers of Caughnawaga, Quebec, the industrial workers of Brantford, the farmers and reserve ranchers of Alberta.

These "new Indians" are the front line soldiers in the growing battle by Indians to determine their own future.

"The work of creating stable and representative organizations has been one of the most

difficult challenges faced by our people," writes Harold Cardinal. He relates how the government attempted to bar every step of the way, provoking and exploiting differences between treaty and non-treaty Indians, preventing use of band council monies for organizing efforts, creating its own organizations dominated by "good" (pro-government) Indians (Uncle Tomahawks), pumping funds into white dominated groups, even trying to co-opt the developing leadership through establishment of its own "community development" programs (which are quickly dropped whenever the Indians show any inclination to use them.) But a major breakthrough occurred in July of last year, when the National Indian Brotherhood was founded, the first such representative body controlled by Indians for Indians

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The NIB is now drafting its counter- Indian Act, based on the principle of self-determination, for the Native people, which it will present to Ottawa sometime this year.

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Indian Control of the Indian Communities

The following is the program of the Native Alliance for Red Power (NARP – the West Coast Native organization established two years ago. It was published in the third issue of the NARP Newsletter Jan.-Feb.1969. It presents a succinct summary of the main demands of the growing Red Power movement, in the words of the Indian people themselves.

* * *

1. We will not be free until we are able to **determine our own destiny**. Therefore we want power to determine the destiny of our reservations and communities. **Gaining power in our reservations and communities** and power over our lives will entail the abolishment of the 'Indian Act,' and the **destruction of the colonial office** (Indian Affairs Branch).

2. This racist government has robbed, cheated and brutalized us and is responsible for the deaths of untold numbers of our people. We feel under no obligation to support this government in the form of **taxation.** Therefore we want an end to the collection of money from us in the form of taxes.

3. The history of Canada was written by the oppressors, the invaders of this land. Their lies are perpetrated in the educational system of today. By failing to expose the true history of this decadent Canadian society the schools facilitate our continued oppression. Therefore, we want an education that teaches us our true history and exposes the racist values of this society.

4. In this country, Indian and Metis represent three percent of the population, yet we constitute approximately 60 percent of the inmates in prisons and jails. Therefore, we want an immediate end to the unjust arrests and harassment of our people by the racist police.

5. When brought before the **courts** of this country, the redman cannot hope to get a fair hearing from white judges, jurors and court officials. Therefore, we want natives to be tried by a jury of people chosen from native communities or people of their racial heritage. Also, we want freedom for those of our brothers and sisters now being unjustly held in the prisons of this country.

6. The **treaties** pertaining to fishing, hunting, trapping and property rights and special privileges have been broken by this government. In some cases, our people did not engage in treaties with the government and have not been compensated for their loss of land. Therefore, for those of our people we want fair **compensation**. Also, we want the government to honor the statutes, as laid down in these treaties, as being supreme and not to be infringed upon by any legislation whatsoever.

7. The large industrial companies and corporations that have raped the natural resources of this country are responsible, along with their government, for the extermination of the resources upon which we depend for food, clothing and shelter. Therefore, we want an immediate end to this exploitation, and compensation from these thieves. We want the government to give **foreign aid** to the areas comprising the Indian Nation, so that we can start desperately needed programs concerning housing, agricultural and industrial cooperatives. **We want to develop our remaining resources in the interests of the redman, not in the interests of the white corporate elite.**

8. The white power structure has used every possible method to destroy our spirit, and the will to resist. They have divided us into status and non-status, American and Canadian, Metis and Indian. We are fully aware of their "divide and rule" tactic, and its effect on our people.

RED POWER IS THE SPIRIT TO RESIST.
RED POWER IS PRIDE IN WHAT WE ARE.
RED POWER IS LOVE FOR OUR PEOPLE.
RED POWER IS OUR COMING TOGETHER TO FIGHT FOR LIBERATION.
RED POWER IS NOW!

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Toward Nationhood

What does the future hold for Canada's half-million Indians? This question — usually ignored by the countless articles and books now appearing on the "Indian question," most of which don't go much beyond moralizing on the terrible poverty of the Native people — strikes at the root of the Indians' dilemma. Can the Indians, descendants of a Stone Age people uprooted and almost exterminated by the capitalist colonization of North

America, ever find acceptance as equals with whites in a modern industrial society? And if so, how?

The prevailing view among Canada's white ruling circles is clear: the Indians must assimilate. They must, as Prime Minister Trudeau put it recently, "become Canadians as all other Canadians." His government's aptly named "white paper" which projects the outright abolition of Indian treaty rights within five years spells this out in more detail. At the same time, this society every day reveals how unwilling and unable it is to "assimilate" the Indians. Even when destroyed as a people, they are completely rejected as individuals, the unemployed, underpaid victims of racism. .

The essence of the white paper is the proposal to remove Indian lands from the protection against alienation now contained in the Indian Act provisions. Not only does this close the door to attempts to encourage economic development of the reserves, it is the prelude to a massive land grab of these six million acres, much of it choice land near the cities, by real estate speculators and industrial consortiums.

South of the border, where Indians lost 90 million of their 140 million acres through local land grabs following the Allotment Act of 1887 (which was supposed to give them land), and still more during the "Termination policy" of the 1950s and early '60s, they are less hypocritical about it now. A headline on the cover of a recent issue of the *National Review* cynically states the extreme right-wing position: "Did the United States destroy the Indians? No, but it should have."

A growing number of Indians - and **all** Indian leaders - reject out of hand this fatalistic perspective. Self-help and self-definition, expressed in the remarkable revival of interest among young Indians in their tribal origins, languages, customs, history, even religious traditions — in short, whatever distinguishes them **as Indians** from the dominant, exploiting racist white capitalist culture - are the keystones of the growing movement for Red Power. Every demand, every struggle of the Indians to assert their rights, refutes the lying image of the lazy, shiftless Indian inculcated in our children — white **and** Indian — by this racist society, beginning with John Wayne's exploits on TV's late, late show.

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The basic program being developed by the new Indian leadership is summarized in the demands of the Native Alliance Red Power, reprinted here *(see box -ed.)* It is a program with revolutionary implications because it poses a direct challenge to the natural drive of capitalist society to suppress, absorb or cast aside every national minority or nationality within it's borders.

But the Canadian left is by no means unanimous in its appreciation of this dynamic of the Red Power movement. For example, at the recent founding conference of the Ontario NDP left wing, the "Waffle" group, some participants argued against singling out Indians and Franco Ontarians as significant "minorities worth including along with women students, tenants unions, etc., as powerful potential allies of the organized working class

in the struggle for socialism. Surely the vastly more numerous Italian-Canadians and other immigrant groups are "minorities" with greater potential influence, they objected.

Forgotten here was a vital distinction between **ethnic** minorities like the immigrants who generally have a clearly assimilationist orientation toward the Anglo-Saxon cultural majority in English Canada insofar as it has been able to absorb them, and relatively oppressed national minorities like the French and Indians who are defining themselves in **opposition** to this society's cultural and other values.

But, some socialists might object, surely you are not saying that the Indians constitute a "nation"? Don't they lack the normal attributes of a nation as it is commonly understood? They have no common territory, no common language, no distinct viable economic life, and their cultural and historical traditions, while picturesque, have little relevance to a complex industrial society. Or so the argument goes. . .

Regardless of this or that formal criterion, the key question is how the Indians see themselves — their collective consciousness. In this sense, the Indians are evolving, from a race to a nationality.... to a nation, in much the same way that the Black people or the Chicanos *(Spanish-speaking of mainly Mexican origin -ed./)* in the United States may be said to constitute a nation, a nation without territory. Moreover, the Indians can be said to possess to some degree **all** of the formal criteria of a nation, too, beginning with a territory. It is precisely their deep attachment to their lands that has enabled the Indians to resist destruction so far. These lands, recognized by treaty, include 2,000 reserves on six million acres across Canada. Much of this land is marginal, undeveloped, largely uncultivable, and useful mainly for the traditional pursuits of hunting, trapping and fishing.

But much of it is very valuable. In British Columbia, a multi-million dollar shopping center stands on land leased from the Squamish band of West and North Vancouver, while in Kamloops, Indians hired a firm of business consultants to draw up a plan for developing their 32,800 acre reserve, and created their own industrial estate.

The shocking fact about the Indians' reserve lands is that no one has ever done a comprehensive survey of their economic viability — least of all the government, which is concerned mainly with dispersing the Indians out of the reserves. The government's Hawthorn-Tremblay report, the most exhaustive study of Canada's Indians so far, concluded only that an economic survey was necessary, while maintaining that development of the reserves and Indian communities is "distinctly secondary" to "massive efforts" to move Indians off the reserves and into the cities. Even available funds for development have not been disbursed; last year the staff of the Ontario government's Indian Development Branch quit because, out of the million dollars the province had earmarked for Indian projects, only a fraction had been spent and many self-help projects had been refused financial aid by the government. Of the federal Indian Affairs Department's $62 million budget in a recent year, only $1.5 million was spent on economic development. Because title to the reserves is vested in the government, the Indians cannot arrange bank loans in their own name; but Indians charge that the

government fails to back loans for industrial and commercial development of the reserves. An unidentified former top official of the Branch was quoted in the *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 21, 1967:

"As a rule the economic development programs that the Branch supports are the marginal, low-profit enterprises like fresh- water fish cooperatives. They're useful, but it was my experience that whenever anyone proposed that the Indians themselves run some larger enterprise — such as building their own resort community instead of leasing to a developer, or organizing a company to exploit their own oil and gas resources — the idea was dismissed, because of fear that established companies would put on pressures against so-called unfair competition from the Indians, backed by the government.

"Indian band capital funds totaling $30 million are on deposit in Ottawa. Oil and gas alone on Indian reserves is estimated to total $2 billion.

"How is it that such rich people are so poor? Why can't Crown corporations or commercial corporations be set up, primarily under Indian control but with expert outside help, to exploit these resources? Why can't the Indians hire their own management talent?"

The official is merely echoing a key demand raised by Red Power militants — for economic development of the reserves by the Indians themselves, or "foreign aid" as they put it. Harold Cardinal says: "What the Indian wants is really quite simple. He wants the chance to develop the resources available to him on his own homeland, the reserve. . . . (This) includes financial assistance. . .training in the precise skills he will need to develop the resources. . .access to expert advice and counsel. . .Indian involvement. Our people want the right to set their own goals, determine their own priorities, create and stimulate their own opportunities and development."

What this means is that, in effect, the Indians do indeed possess a major attribute of most nations, their own territory, much of it bordering established industrial areas of the country. And most important, an increasing number of Indians see their future as a people linked with the fate of these reserves. Despite the massive migration in recent years into the cities and the terrible poverty of the reserves, very few treaty Indians — only 600 a year — voluntarily opt out of legal Indian status. And 500 of these are women who, by a blatantly discriminatory provision of the Indian Act, automatically lose treaty status when they marry outsiders.

A New Commonwealth

The reserves play a key role in the development of national consciousness among Canada's Native peoples. As the homeland for the quarter-million treaty Indians, they have provided an economic base to sustain the Indian population, most often in traditional non-industrial pursuits of hunting, fishing and trapping. Without such lands, their fate would have been even worse, as the situation of the Metis and non-treaty

Indians today so grimly testifies.

Equally important, the reserve lands are now providing a base for the new organizations that the Indians are forging themselves in their struggle for self-determination, and it is around the reserves that their program of Indian control of Indian communities naturally centers.

The declining economic perspectives of the present reserve lands, combined with a rapidly accelerating birth rate, are forcing more and more Indians to leave the reserves and head for the cities in search of work. In the United States, where the land was stolen from the Indians or exhausted earlier, about half the Native population is estimated to live in urban areas; in Canada, about one-quarter of the treaty Indians covered by the Hawthorn-Tremblay survey of 1967 had left the reserves.

However, very few abandon treaty status, their right to return to and live on the reserves. And while urban ghettos and the immense problems faced by the racially oppressed and super-exploited Indian population of cities like Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver will no doubt figure more prominently in the Red Power program as it develops, it is clear that so long as the economic, social and cultural base of the Indians remains on the reserves — which generally are located in longstanding tribal communities — the key demands will continue to be expressed in terms of the reserve communities.

This demand of the Indians for control of their own communities has tremendous progressive significance. It is of course a democratic demand, and as its widespread appearance among Indian tribes from coast to coast indicates, it is deeply rooted in the life and struggles of the Indian masses. But it is also profoundly revolutionary, for it poses directly the question of who will have the decision-making power among the most oppressed, colonized people on this continent — and what those decisions will be.

In its most general sense, the concept of community control takes the form of the demand that the treaties be reinstated by the federal government, then renegotiated between the government and the indigenous Indian organizations and sovereign tribal councils to take account of modern conditions. In addition, since half the Indians and none of the up to 350,000 mixed-blood Metis have any treaty rights, the Red Power militants demand compensation for the lands they lost. Many tribes note that since they were never defeated in war and never surrendered their land by treaty, they retain legal rights to vast areas of territory, particularly in British Columbia and Quebec.

A growing number of Indian communities are already renewing their claims to sovereignty — and acting on them, by rejecting further incursions on their territories and violations of their treaty rights by the white man's racist government. A notable example was the St. Regis reserve's protest against the Canadian government's refusal to recognize the Jay Treaty's provision for Indian exemption from border-crossing levies.

Another example of possibly greater significance is the declaration of sovereignty

issued by the Six Nations Confederacy at Brantford, Ontario following Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien's "white paper" policy statement last June. Of the estimated 9,000 Indians on the Six Nations reserve, Chief Logan says "at least three-quarters want an independent state."

A variation on this theme was the Saskatchewan Native Action Committee's presentation during the 1968 federal election of a candidate, 23-year-old Carole Lavallee, in the constituency of Meadow Lake, where 60 percent of the population is Indian and Metis. She ran on a program centered around "local control of government in Metis and Indian communities." New Democratic Party militants should take note that this strong Indian-Metis organization, under the militant leadership of Dr. Howard Adams, apparently did not consider the NDP, which also contested the riding, an adequate vehicle for their needs and program.

Lavallee's vote — 600, or 3 percent of the total — seems small until it is compared with the percentage of the Native population that actually voted, 10 percent. When the two figures are transposed, it appears that close to half the Native electorate who voted cast their ballots for a self-proclaimed Red Power candidate! Small wonder that Ottawa refuses to grant self-government to the North-West Territories, where Indians and Eskimos together constitute over 60 percent of the population!

The electoral strategy conducted in Meadow Lake is rejected by many Indians, particularly treaty Indians, today. Although the latter have now been given the vote federally and in most provinces, the growing opposition to government authority is reflected in the feeling that participation in the white man's elections constitutes a surrender of Indian sovereignty. The lack of participation of the Indian voter, even when he or she is confronted with a real alternative, is evident in the Meadow Lake statistics, already cited. But this abstentionism extends also to elections within the reservations for bodies set up by Ottawa, such as the band councils. Mohawk leader Kahn-Tineta Horn told the *Toronto Star* in December, 1968 that only 450 of Caughnawaga's 2,500 eligible voters had taken part in the recent federal-government sponsored elections there.
The low turnout reflected opposition, not apathy, she said.

The Indians have not yet spelled out how they see the formal application of their demand for political sovereignty over their communities. NDP leader T.C. Douglas has suggested the reserves might be given municipal status. This is already being done with one Band council in British Columbia, as part of the projected transfer of Indian Affairs to the province, and at Moosenee, Ontario. But rather than increased Indian control of their own

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What the Indians want "What the Indian wants is really quite simple. He wants the

chance to develop the resources available to him on his own homeland, the reserve." (from *The Unjust Society* by Harold Cardinal)
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communities, it merely transfers federal authority to the province, which retains control over municipal law. It certainly does not guarantee self-government; at Moosenee, which the Robarts Tory government calls "Canada's first self-governing Indian area," the board which runs the town was appointed by Queen's Park, and the Indians, who form 90 percent of the local population, do not have a majority voice on the board!

What the Red Power movement is already making very clear, however, is the **content** of the demand for community control. They want their own police, their own juries, their own courts, their own laws which correspond to their way of life, to their moral and social standards. In a recent brief to the Senate committee on the media, Indian leaders demanded funds for their own radio network and TV stations in areas with a large Indian population. Indian women, subjected to shocking degradation at the hands of the white colonizers particularly because of the preeminent role they played in the matriarchal Indian communal society, are now organizing independently within the Indian community and formulating their own demands. The Caughnawaga reserve women petitioned the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, calling for an end to the Indian Act provision that can "deprive an Indian woman of her nationality."

Key struggles are shaping up over Indian demands for control of their own schools. Half the 64,000 reserve Indian children now attend integrated schools,

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"Our confederacy was a democracy and a matriarchal society in which the woman had superior status to the man, unlike the white man's world. The hereditary chiefs were elected by the clan mothers, leaders of family groups within the tribes, and could be deposed by them..."
— Chief Joseph Logan of the Brantford, Ont. Six Nations Confederacy

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many of them hundreds of miles from the reserves, in white communities, and the government proposes to eliminate Indian-only schools altogether. But Indian spokesmen across Canada are demanding an end to church and state control of their children's education, and raising such demands as an Indian university, rewriting of the texts to tell the truth about the Indians' history, teaching of Indian languages and instruction of other subjects in the Indian languages. In short, they are demanding "Red studies" programs similar to the "Black studies" demanded by broad layers of the Black community in the United States.

Clearly, then, in their territorial possessions, their economic and social objectives, their organizational development and political demands, and their cultural pursuits, the Indian people are taking on the major characteristics that Marxists have normally attributed to a nation.

When the Indian looks back for inspiration to early aboriginal society in North America, he discovers the ideals and moral standards of a naive yet effective communism. Indian society, as it existed and as it is being resurrected by today's young Red Power militants, is a society totally at odds with the "capitalist ethic."

"American Indians," a writer south of the border noted recently, "remain our one unhyphenated minority. The American Indian world is so alien to us, so alien still, after all the generations of mortal embrace, that no one would say Indian-Americans any more than one would say Martian-Americans. It is an alienness rooted in the very foundation of the Indian world, which rests — still today — on a sense of community as against the foundation of individual contention, individual acquisition, underlying the surrounding world — an alienness attuned to a harmony of human relationships rather than a harmony of commerce and industry, attuned to belonging rather than belongings."

Similarly, Walter Currie, president of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, is quoted in the CLC's *Canadian Labor* as contrasting the "Indian way of life" — "he took only what he needed. He had no need either to command or to obey another's wishes. Time and work had not been invented; acquisition of property was unknown. Group interest was paramount to self interest" — with what he calls the "peasant ethos" of the European: "competition for the acquisition of private property ... his command over others ⋯"

These characteristics of Indian culture are very attractive to young people revolting against the hypocrisy and false values of capitalist society. Women's liberation activists can deepen their understanding of the class character of their oppression as women by studying the matriarchal communism of Indian tribal society.

These Indian ideals have striking relevance to the Red Power struggle, too. When the Indian people assert that the will no longer accept domination by the white man's government, that they want full control over all aspects of their life, they are indicating that they have abandoned any illusions about achieving equality under capitalism.

Indians' traditions show the possibility of a different kind of society based on fundamentally non-capitalist concepts. The movement for self-determination is an increasingly powerful phenomenon among minority nations and nationalities in all the industrialized capitalist countries today — we see it also in Quebec — but what other national people can point to such obvious examples of communal

cooperation and equality in its own traditions?

These factors make the Indians powerful potential allies of all other forces struggling for change on this continent. Already red and black militants have expressed their solidarity in common actions — for example, a joint meeting in Toronto to honor the martyred Black leader, Malcolm X.

The struggle of the Indian people for emancipation is an expression of the Permanent revolution. It has begun as a struggle for sovereignty, for collective or national liberation. But the scope of the problem, and the nature of the enemy mean that it can't be achieved except through an all-out struggle against the entire capitalist system. Thus the Red Power movement inexorably tends to merge with the broader class struggle against capitalist domination. The Indian people are destined to play a leading role in the fight for socialism in Canada; for they truly have "nothing to lose."

White capitalist society has been unable to co-opt this movement to its own purposes, to break down the solidarity of the Indian communities, their collective approach to solving common problems The Indian people are developing the determination and ability not only to control their own communities, but to make those communities examples of a higher form of social organization than what we know today under a system based on private property. Who can predict what lessons we can learn in the power and effectiveness of communal development from the collectivist experiments of the Indian communities? By showing white workers the image of their own future, the Red Power movement can do much to popularize and concretize what socialists mean when they talk of a society founded not on avarice but on human solidarity and brotherhood.

==========(start box) ==========
On the National Indian Brotherhood

"For many, the brotherhood represents the final attempt by Indians to try to solve their problems within the context if the political system of our country. If it fails, and particularly if it is destroyed by the federal government, then the future holds very little hope for the Indian unless he attempts to solve his problems by taking the dangerous and explosive path traveled by the black militants of the United States."

(from *The Unjust Society* by Harold Cardinal)
==========(end box)= ==========

labor Challenge #2 Feb 1970

Policy aims debated by NDP left caucus

TORONTO — A debate on policy approaches for the upcoming Ontario NDP convention was the main feature of the second general meeting of the Waffle socialist caucus held here on Feb. 8. About 80 NDP left wing supporters attended the meeting.

Reporting on the recent two-day meeting of the Waffle provincial policy group, Danny Drache, its chairman, said the group had decided to present four main resolutions to the party convention within the framework of an "anti-imperialist position." These resolutions would zero in on the increasing U.S. domination of the Ontario economy, its trade unions, its universities and its cultural institutions, he said. In addition, some Waffle supporters who disagreed that the entire thrust of the left's intervention in the convention should be solely on those specific issues, would be preparing resolutions on welfare, tenants and community organizing, extraparliamentary opposition and women's liberation.

In the ensuing discussion, some members challenged the view upheld by Drache and a few others that any issue which could not be defined as explicitly anti-imperalist had no relevance to Waffle policy.

Everyone in tne Waffle caucus is anti-imperialist; the difference is between those who want to build a serious anti-imperialist movement by building socialist consciousness in the working class, and those who are content with constant repetition of words like "imperialism" without relating it to a program that comes to grips with the reality of capitalist control in Canada.

Jackie Brown, a full-time staff worker for the caucus in Ottawa, charged that Drache's interpretation would mean the caucus should say nothing about women's liberation, as well as many other aspects of capitalist oppression in general. Others noted that an anti-imperialist strategy necessarily involves complete identification with and support for all ongoing struggles of the working class, and that the main task facing the left was to formulate a program which is capable of relating such struggles, whether they are "explicitly" anti-imperialist or not, to the necessity for socialism in Canada.

This discussion, which was not resolved, will be continued when the policy committee meets again in Ottawa Feb. 28, and no doubt again on Easter weekend when the Ontario conference of Waffle supporters is held.

Among other happenings: Jim Laxer and Jackie Brown reported on last month's federal council meeting, where the left's resolutions on universities and Quebec were given short shrift — the first, sent off for "further study" to a policy review committee, and the second, which defended self-determination for the Quebecois nation, was hurriedly defeated with almost no debate. Council set up an extraparliamentary action committee with Waffle supporters Karl Jaffary and Laxer as co-chairmen, which will travel across the country asking various organizations what they want from the NDP. The committee is to submit a report to the next federal convention.

Kim Malcolmson reported that the committee of Toronto Waffle women had decided to concentrate their efforts on setting up a women's liberation movement in the NDP, rather than operating only as a left-wing women's organization confined to the Waffle grouping.

D.F.

labor
Challenge
#2 Feb 1970

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Restructure NDP's policy committee, Mel Watkins says

The NDP federal council's decision to set up a policy review committee which includes two Waffle spokesmen among its 11 members, was seized upon by the capitalist press as evidence that the left wing was attempting to resolve its differences with the right, even to dissolve as an organized grouping within the party.

Not so, says Mel Watkins, one of the two left-wingers — the other is Cy Gonick — on the committee. In a letter published in the Globe and Mail Feb. 6, Watkins denies there is any truth in this rumor, and states that, "for my own part, I see myself, as a national vice-president of the party and as a member on any committees of the council, as a representative of the Waffle group."

He continues in part:

"I have grave reservations that a policy review committee, particularly as now constituted, is the appropriate structure to write a new manifesto. It is an elitist group that takes no cognizance of the rival grassroots of the party and the sources of the new radicalism. Its membership contains no women, no rank-and-file workers, no students, no farmers.

"...It should be clear from the Winnipeg convention that there is disagreement within the party on a number of fundamental issues including: the basic question whether the party is willing to recognize clearly that the chief barrier to the building of an independent socialist Canada is American imperialism and its governmental and corporate allies within Canada; the question of whether widespread public ownership will be needed to achieve socialism and independence for Canada; the question of whether the party's position on Quebec is a relevant solution to the problem of two nations existing within the Canadian state; and the question of whether the party's main orientation should be toward events in legislative bodies or toward the building of a broad socialist movement in Canada."

Watkins says he hopes that "the committee will see fit to restructure itself so that it will be more representative, that it will see its role as stimulating dialogue and debate at all levels of the party and that it will recognize the right of anyone to dissent from a consensus sought for its own sake."

mailbag

You're right

Toronto, Ont.

Congratulations on an excellent first issue of Labor Challenge! But at the same time let me bring a criticism to your attention. Perhaps you regard this as merely a stylistic question — I think however that it has ramifications beyond that.

I'm referring to the patronizing tone you adopt when you report on women. Take, for example, your report on the Miss Canadian Universities Pageant and compare it with your report on the opening of Toronto's new socialist center. "Janie was. . .Judy did. . .Janiel said. . ." When talking about men, on the other hand, "Dowson emphasized. . .Novack said. . ." Why can't you accord women the dignity of addressing them by their second names? It almost sounds as if you're talking about children.

The same problem arose in the article on pollution. Throughout the article you referred to Grace MacInnis as Mrs. MacInnis. Perhaps you felt it would be disrespectful to call an elderly, gray-haired woman "Grace" or "MacInnis"!

Clearly what is needed is some form of standardized approach. Let me suggest that you give men and women the same treatment and address both by their second names — regardless of sex or age!

Joan Newbigging.

labor Challenge #2 - Feb 1970

Repeal abortion laws now! -women's caucus

By Mary Robson

The hospital committee (all men) sits at the front, pious and self-important. It is their function to decide whether a request for an abortion will be granted.

A pregnant teeny bopper approaches them. She is handed a reply, "It'll make a woman out of you."

A pregnant mother of five appeals to them for an abortion. She is first tangled in red tape, then is handed the verdict, "Too late."

A young woman announcing "I got rhythm" is given a flat NO, but after she dies from an attempt to abort herself, the hospital committee fulfils its medical responsibility by pronouncing her dead.

Finally another young woman comes up. "Raped?" she pleads. "NO" the committee answers.

She tries again. "German Measles?" "No" the committee answers. She shrugs, throws an ocelot coat across her shoulders, puts a silver spoon in her mouth, and tries once more. "Money?" "Yes! Yes! Yes!" The committee's decision is unanimous.

This skit led off a Vancouver Women's Caucus demonstration against the present abortion laws in Canada. The march, appropriately held on Valentine's Day, was militant and spirited. Three hundred women and men carried banners which demanded the right to abortion, the right to safe birth control, and an end to the 12,000 deaths caused every year in North America by illegal abortions.

The demonstration was followed by an evening meeting on abortion which was attended by about 150.

Mary Borsky, speaking for the Vancouver Women's Caucus, pointed out that the real significance of this demonstration can only be understood in the context of the rapidly growing movement of women and men across the continent who are beginning to actively oppose our governments' inhumane laws against women. For example, the Victoria Labor Council recently came out unanimously in favor of having abortion removed from the criminal code, and 350 women in New York are presently carrying a suit against the State of New York on the grounds that its abortion laws are unconstitutional.

This spring, the Vancouver Women's Caucus is sending a car cavalcade across Canada to protest the government's abortion laws. On Mother's Day it will be arriving in Ottawa to confront Trudeau and his ministers.

Women in Vancouver, across the country and across North America are beginning to demand the basic human right of control of their own bodies. To have a law which allows the rich, and occasionally the lucky, the right to a safe medical abortion is not good enough. Women want access to free, safe abortions on demand, with no questions asked. It is not correct to say that abortion must be legalized. There are no laws restricting a person's right to a tonsilectomy, and there must be no laws restricting a woman's right to an abortion.

We demand that abortion laws be repealed now!

labor Challenge

#2 Feb 1970

ABM, Amchitka, the Arctic -how U.S. endangers us

by John Wilson

Nixon's decision to press for Phase 2 of the "Safeguard" anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system has illustrated once again the contempt with which Washington regards the Canadian government.

"This decision by the United States was made quite independently of any consultation with us" replied External Affairs Minister Sharp, when questioned in the house by NDP leader T.C. Douglas February 2. And the Globe and Mail's Washington correspondent Terrance Wills reported Feb. 6 that the Canadian government "have not been able to learn what is involved in the second phase of Safeguard announced by Mr. Nixon at a press conference a week ago."

Phase 2 of Safeguard includes plans for another atomic blast at Amchitka island in the Aleutians. Amchitka is very close to a massive fault in the earth's crust running all the way from there down to California. Predictions by eminent scientists last year of the grave danger of earthquakes and tidal waves resulting from the first explosion prompted muted criticism from the Trudeau ministry, and a statement that they would hold the U.S. responsible for any damages to Canadian territory. Sharp explained that he has held off commenting on the projected second blast, however, on the pretext that the U.S. has not even bothered yet to make data from the first available to Canada!

Nixon's ABM scheme represents another major escalation of the arms race. And it's of particular concern to the people of this country. Interception of missiles coming toward the U.S. would take place in Canadian airspace.

To top that all off, the "Safeguard" system, even in the context of imperialism and its cold war mythology, makes no sense from a military or political point of view. Not only have military experts and politicians within the U.S. opposed it, it has been condemned by virtually all of American's allies in Europe. Even Harold Wilson's bootlicking regime has gotten off its hands and knees long enough to demur.

In the face of this massive threat the ABM scheme poses to our very existence, the Canadian government appears to have developed a case of virtual laryngitis. When Trudeau cautiously suggested that recognition of China was preferable to building a "defense" of Minutemen missile sites from possible Chinese attack (the latest pretext for "Safeguard") Mitchell Sharp hastened to add that the prime minister's comment was not so much a criticism of U.S. policy as it was a "strong endorsement of our own policies." (!)

In the face of this further criminal build-up of the weaponry of radioactive fallout and megadeath, one which is moreover a direct and immediate threat to the population of Canada, why is the government so silent?

The reason was partly summed up in U.S. Senator William Fulbright's rejoinder when Defense Secretary Laird stated last year that Canada could never have a veto over Safeguard. "You mean if they don't like it they can lump it."

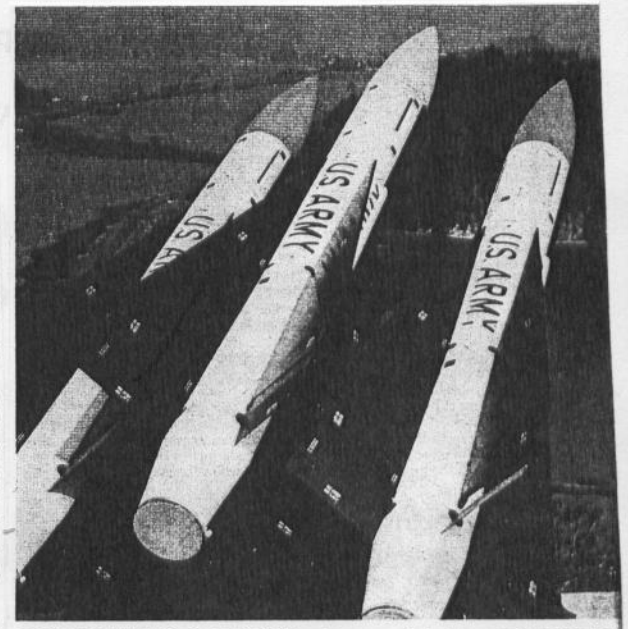
Exactly. The capitalist rulers of this country are so totally committed to the world designs of U.S. imperialism that Canadian support — or at least acquiescence — can simply be taken for granted. Put bluntly, there is no necessity or value for the Pentagon or the State Department to consult Ottawa, except, on occasion, as a matter of form.

Two further examples indicate Washington's contemptuous assumption of Ottawa's continued "co-operation." One was the voyage of the Manhattan through the northwest passage, which the U.S. now blandly claims are international waters. Another is the complaint of prominent Canadian Defense Research Board scientist Dr. G.R. Lindsay in recent testimony before a Commons Committee, that Canadian officials at U.S. defense briefings are being increasingly asked to leave when "classified material" is discussed. So much for the argument of some apologists for Canadian big business that "our" alliance with U.S. imperialism gives the government some consequential influence in American government policy!

Nixon is not too concerned if Trudeau voices some highly token "opposition" to this or that policy for domestic consumption — Washington knows he'll go along.

If it does nothing else, these recent episodes should destroy any remaining illusions among those who are seeking to oppose U.S. imperialism and its increasing penetration of Canadian society that they will find any allies in the Canadian ruling class or among its political flunkies.

The only opposition to such monstrosities as the anti-missile missile will come from a quite different direction; from the mass anti-imperialist movement which is beginning to develop in Canada around the New Democratic Party, and in the student, labor and anti-Vietnam war movements.



POINTED TOWARD CANADA? Nixon is proceeding with second stage of antiballistic missile scheme without so much as a by-your-leave from Canadian government.

Advertisement

Contact socialists in your area

MONTREAL. Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montreal 129, 861-3018. Universite de Montreal, a/ s Gilbert Rousseau, 342-2057. Sir George Williams University, c/ o Victor Raymond, 845-5912. McGill U., c/ o Andre Moreau, Ceger Vieux Montreal, a/ s Leon Millard, 270-4756.

OTTAWA. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 365-1/ 2 Bank St., Ottawa 4, 232-1054. Carleton U. YS, c/ o Students Council. 235-2141.

TORONTO. LSA, YS, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto 2B, 363-9618. University of Toronto YS, c/ o Harry Kopyto. York U. YS, c/ o Jim Kisholm, 221-8129.

RICHMOND HILL. LSA, Box 281, Richmond Hill, Ont.

MILTON. LSA, YS, 267 Carlton St. W., 529-[illegible].

GUELPH. Guelph U. Young Socialists, c/ o Betty-Jane Sinclair, Apt. 205, 105 Water St., 821-2367.

ST. CATHARINES. Young Socialists, 20 Erie St.

KITCHENER-WATERLOO. LSA, Box 921, Kitchener. YS, c/ o Laurel Stuart, 2 Clarence Pl., Kitchener, 576-2775.

LONDON. YS, c/ o Steve Harding, 1462 Trafalgar, 451-8252.

WINNIPEG. Young Socialists, 272 Cockburn St., Suite 34, 452-8518.

SASKATOON. YS, Box 704, 652-5608.

EDMONTON. LSA, YS, 10402-97th St., 424-7644. University of Alberta YS, c/ o Student Union Bldg.

VANCOUVER. LSA, YS, 1208 Granville St., 688-5924. SFU Young Socialists, c/ o Carole Oleniuk, Student Society, SFU, Bby. 2. UBC Young Socialists, c/ o AMS, 224-7578.

The League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists, 334 Queen St., Toronto 2B, Ont.

labor Challenge #2 Feb. 1970

Sedition claim is thrown out

All charges laid against Raymond Lemieux following the St-Leonard demonstrations last fall were thrown out when Lemieux appeared for preliminary hearing Feb. 14.

Lemieux, leader of the Ligue pour l'Integration Scolaire which has campaigned for a French-only school system through Quebec, was charged with sedition, participating in a riot, inciting to riot, refusing to comply with police orders and disobeying the Riot Act. The charges carried penalties of up to life imprisonment.

But Sessions Judge Jacques Anctil said the Crown failed to make any case. "Evidence that there was a riot was not even presented and not a single seditious word was even produced in court," he said. Judge Anctil told the prosecutor Claude Simard he "had conducted the whole case in a very curious manner, indeed."

Less curious, but more questionable, was the role of Quebec's attorney-general, Remi Paul, who is developing a habit of laying sedition charges — with a penalty of 14 years imprisonment — against leaders of the nationalist and trade union movement. This is the second time in as many months that such charges have been thrown out of court. Michel Chartrand, leader of the Montreal CNTU, was also cleared of sedition recently.

Raymond Lemieux

March 3, 1970
Toronto

To all branches and members at large

Dear Comrades;

Several weeks ago we mailed a copy of "A PROGRAM FOR REFORM" to the major centers.

This was the first form of the document that a group of prominent Canadian trade unionists (largely limited so far to elements in the secondary layers of the trade union bureaucracy) hope will coalesce an opposition formation at the coming congress of the CLC.

It is obvious that there are many grave weaknesses in the document in the state that you received it and in its latest ammended form. It accurately reflects the social outlook of the skilled and high seniority workers which such layers rest upon. It doesn't even mention the trade union bureaucracy or show any awareness of the steadily deteriorating conditions in the shops for the broad layers of the working class, not to speak of the braod question of internal democracy.

Rather than pursue a line of criticism at this time however, we would like to note that it has often happened that a document introduced at a critical juncture often takes on a life of its own with its antagonists making their own interpretation in the light of specific experiences, and its proponents coalescing around what they think it means. We think that this document for all its weaknesses can become the focal point for an opposition of some significance at the CLC rally.

Some sections of this five point document are almost certain to get a good response from militants--particularly the section on Canadian autonomy with which we are in essential agreement, and the section on industrial democracy.

The authors of the document are in some situations not pushing it as a whole but seeking support for its various sections in the form of resolutions before locals. We understand that 10 locals, three of them Steel, have endorsed it, that it has some 30 leading sponsors and that support is growing. When its present supporters think that they have sufficient strength, a public statement will be made and public meetings will be held in major centers --sometime late in March

At this stage it is inadviseable that rank and file militants, particularly of our tendency become the identified supporters of this document---but rather that unionists with an established base of support become its initiators and knwn supporters. Where this is not possible it would be valuable if we could pass sections of it as resolutions from various locals.

As soon as it is adviseable the Challenge will be reporting on this development.

fraternally

P. Kent (R.D.)

Stop Trudeau-U.S. deal to sellout natural resources!

By Ross Dowson

The Americans are coming. But it's not the Black Panthers! They are being gunned down in the streets of northern U.S. cities.

And it's not the organizers of the AFL-CIO or the independent unions. James Hoffa remains in jail.

It's the managerial staffs, the high paid bureaucrats of the U.S. corporate elite, of the super-rich who own the giant corporations that dominate the U.S. and who encircle the globe with their imperialist tentacles.

So what's new? The U.S. capitalist class already have controlling interests in the most strategic sectors of the Canadian economy--and have taken over 600 firms since 1962. And besides that, the U.S. government with the full agreement of the Canadian government regulates the activities of these subsidiaries in such key policy areas as transfers of capital, mergers, acquisitions, taxes, and — by no means least — exports to such countries as China, which it considers an enemy.

What is new is that President Nixon has decided to mobilize all the forces at his disposal to work out, and conclude within the next 12 to 14 months, a vast "energy package" with the Canadian capitalist class and their government in Ottawa. Washington has decided to realize "an integrated North American energy package" that would cover construction of pipelines through Canada to bring Alaskan oil south, international power grids exploiting the energy potential of Canada's northern rivers, joint development of natural gas deposits, joint expansion of coal reserves, and possibly even water.

There will be development, of course. But what we are headed for is a giant sell-out — another sell-out of the country's vast natural resources. What hasn't already been looted, ravaged and destroyed, in collusion with capitalist governments at all levels by the giant railway, mining,

(See page 6)

labor Challenge

15 cents

Vol. 1 No. 3
March 9, 1970
3

Our target - $14,500 by May 1st

This is the third issue of LABOR CHALLENGE — so you are in the picture. You can see what it's about.

You will have appreciated its informative coverage of the world-wide and Canadian struggle for a better society. You can appreciate what a fine instrument it is in the hands of anti-Vietnam war activists, NDP and trade union militants, women's liberation fighters — in fact anyone who is really involved or wants to get involved.

Good. For besides your subscription to LABOR CHALLENGE, so that you get it regularly and on time in your mail, we need a financial contribution from you.

With this issue we are launching a campaign to raise $14,500 by May Day, May 1st.

The only place such a paper as ours can get them is from working people like you. That's a lot of money but it's the bare minimum we can squeeze by with, to pay the staff, the typesetter, the printer.

It is your responsibility to help finance this paper. Don't leave it to someone else and don't delay putting your cheque or money order in the mail.

We need as much as you can possibly give to make our objective. With your help we will obtain the necessary $14,500.

Gov't wheat scandal:

Pay farmers not to grow while millions go hungry

Hundreds of Metis and Indian families are going hungry in Saskatchewan while around them are stockpiled millions of bushels of unsold wheat. Meanwhile, the government's grain marketing monopoly, which has refused orders for wheat from countries like Romania, attempt to bar members of the National Farmers Union from giving wheat to the Metis, while Trudeau government offers the farmers millions of dollars not to grow any wheat at all this year. Here, Howard Adams, left, head of Metis Association of Saskatchewan, and officials of NFU assist Grant Miller of Perdue, Sask. as he grinds part of 70,000 bushels of wheat that farmers have gone ahead and earmarked for distribution to Native peoples despite government ban.

by The Editors

In the grain elevators and fields of the prairies, hundreds of millions of bushels of wheat lie unsold. The farmers who grew it sink deeper into debt. In the very same provinces, recent reports have revealed widespread hunger and even starvation among hundreds of Metis and Indian families, a small segment of the billions on this planet forced to live in hunger.

Those are the grim outlines of Canada's wheat crisis. And on February 27, the Trudeau government announced its "solution"--it will pay the farmers not to grow wheat!

It was Howard Adams, president of the Metis Society of Saskatchewan, whose revelations blasted the myth that there are no outlets for Canada's unsold wheat. He revealed that the Wheat Board had refused to give the Metis society permission to gather surplus wheat--although members of the National Farmers Union had pledged donations of 70,000 bushels, and the milling companies had agreed to mill the wheat free of charge.

The farmers went ahead and ground the wheat for them anyway. Trudeau's "solution" which so callously ignores the need of Canada's hungry, does little more to solve the dilemma of the hard-pressed wheat farmers.

(See page 2)

labor Challenge

#3 Mar. 1970

APPEAL REJECTED. Black students from Montreal were stopped by parliamentary guards in Ottawa Feb. 26 when they attempted to see Trudeau to protest current trials against West Indian students who were arrested at last year's antiracist sit-in at Sir George Williams University.

Canadian imperialism hit by West Indies protests

There is a rising consciousness in the West Indies that Canada is a racist and imperialist power in its own right, not the benevolent, somehow neutral country that is the image the Canadian government tries to project.

In Trinidad, Jamaica and Guyana, there were protest demonstrations on Feb. 27 to support West Indian students currently on trial in Montreal on conspiracy charges. The charges were laid after the destruction of a computer, allegedly by students, at Sir George Williams University in February 1969 when the police moved in to break up peaceful occupation of the computer center held to protest racism.

In Port of Spain, Trinidad, cops arrested some demonstrators after 200, mainly students, staged an occupation of a branch of the Royal Bank. The following day police plainclothesmen were sent out to guard Canadian-owned businesses.

In Georgetown, Guyana, members of the Progressive Youth Organization, youth section of the opposition Peoples Progressive Party picketed the Canadian high commission.

University students in Kingston, Jamaica, celebrated a "day of solidarity against racism in Canada."

Four of the students on trial in Montreal attempted without success to see Prime Minister Trudeau the same day in Ottawa.

In Halifax, black and white students marched through the downtown streets.

Racist outrages perpetrated in Canada against black students are not the only grievance West Indians have with Canadian big business, which has investments there in the hundreds of millions.

A brief by the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs Feb. 26 revealed that many CUSO personnel in the Caribbean have reported hearing the phrase "Canadian exploitation and neo-colonialism" used alongside references to British and U.S. imperialism.

A quotation from Dr. Aubrey Philips, acting head of the Department of Education of the University of the West Indies, which was read into the record, stated in part: "the buying of smallholders land by the U.S. and Canadian companies has restored the old status quo: the sources of wealth are white and foreign, the sources of labor are local and black. We are back to slavery. . ."

It was reported on Feb. 4 that for the third time inside a year, a battalion of Canadian troops (600 men of the Royal Canadian Regiment) arrived on the island of Jamaica for "tropical training exercises." Despite official denials, a rumor continues to circulate, that Canada has a secret agreement with the Jamaican government that if it was threatened by revolution, Canadian troops might be flown in on the pretext of protecting Canadian lives and property.

labor Challenge #3 Mar. 1970

International Women's Day -Sixty years of struggle

The following is based on an article by Elizabeth Barnes in the U.S. Socialist Weekly, The Militant.

For sixty years, militant women around the world have observed March 8 as International Women's Day, a day of solidarity with the worldwide struggle of women for liberation.

March 8 was chosen to commemorate a demonstration of socialist women in New York City in 1908. It was first designated an international women's holiday in 1910 by a Congress of Socialist Women meeting in Copenhagen.

The first International Women's Day was celebrated in Germany in 1911 with mass demonstrations and meetings. Clara Zetkin, the militant socialist leader from Germany, was in the forefront of this action, declaring that the fight for women's rights was part of the struggle against capitalist oppression.

In 1914, International Women's Day in Germany again saw demonstrations, this time directed against World War 1 and in protest against the arrest of the great revolutionary socialist leader, Rosa Luxemburg.

In 1917, International Women's Day in Russia (Feb. 23 by the czarist calendar) was observed in the most fitting and dramatic way possible. Women textile workers rose up spontaneously on that day and sparked a strike wave which ended with the February revolution and the overthrow of the Czar.

After the Russian Revolution, the revolutionary government set about freeing women from their centuries-long oppression, and at the same time, initiated the spread of the celebration of International Women's Day to countries around the world.

With the rise of Stalinism in the late 1920s, much of the original progress made toward the emancipation of women in the Soviet Union was undermined. The observance of International Women's Day, however, has been maintained. Today, in the Soviet Union and other workers' states International Women's Day is one of the central official holidays, although it is celebrated rather ritualistically as a day for honoring women rather than as a day of rededication to the struggle against the oppression of women.

The Cuban revolution has helped to revive the tradition of International Women's Day in the true spirit of the early socialist fighters. On March 8, meetings are held in Cuba to express solidarity with the international struggles of women, most importantly, the struggle of the Vietnamese women.

The fact that women in Canada and around the world are beginning, once again, to observe International Women's Day is a reflection of the depth of the resurgence of revolutionary forces on a world scale and the growing role of women in these struggles. Women are in the front ranks of the revolutionary fighters, not only in Vietnam, but in Palestine, Cuba, France, Angola and elsewhere.

The concept of international solidarity of women is now more meaningful than ever. With the rise of the women's liberation movement across North America, the international fight of women to liberate themselves is beginning to be seen in all its importance as a central part of the fight for socialism.

labor Challenge #3 Mar 1970

Picket National Press Club to protest ban on women

by Ian Angus

OTTAWA — "What if they had a Women's page and nobody wrote?" These words on a placard summed up the aims of a demonstration held on Feb. 20 at the annual Ball of the National Press Club.

Over 100 people participated in the protest outside Ottawa's posh Skyline hotel which was directed against the Press Club's recent decision to continue their ban on women members. The demonstration was organized by the Ottawa Women's Liberation Committee, the Carleton University Women's Liberation Group, and the Committee for a New Press Club, an organization of men and women journalists formed this month to protest the decision and to encourage journalists to leave the existing Press Club.

Among the participants were members of the "Waffle" socialist group in the NDP, the New Left Caucus, the Young Socialists, Socialists, the League for Socialist Action, and New Democratic members of Parliament, Grace MacInnis, Stanley Knowles and Lorne Nystrom. Grace MacInnis is the only woman member of Parliament, and thus the only MP who is not an honorary member of the Press Club.

The Press Club has excluded women from membership since its foundation in 1928 as a social and professional organization of journalists. A proposal to end this ban was defeated at a membership meeting on January 24.

The decision has produced widespread opposition. The Ottawa local of the Newspaper Guild voted overwhelmingly to condemn it on January 25. Former prime minister John Diefenbaker, one of the prime movers behind the 1960 Bill of Rights, has resigned his honorary membership in protest.

A letter sent to members of parliament asked what their attitude to the decision would have been if instead of Grace MacInnis, Lincoln Alexander, a black MP, were the only MP excluded from the club. Lincoln Alexander has declared his support for the protest.

The demonstration was organized despite attempts to intimidate the organizers. Two days before the action, Bruce Philips, president of the Press Club, telephoned Valerie Angus, co-editor of the Ottawa Women's Liberation Newsletter and one of the main organizers, "to inform her of the legal situation."

In a poorly disguised attempt to prevent the action from taking place, he implied that the Press Club could sue the organizers. The next day, Valerie Angus was phoned by persons claiming to be from the Police Department, who said the proposed action was illegal.

The Press Club occupies a building owned by the federal government. A leaflet handed out by the demonstrators noted that this makes the government the landlord and added, "We are confident that the general population of Canada is less willing to accept blantant discrimination and intolerance than are some members of the National Press Club of Canada."

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labor Challenge #3 mar. 1970

Black, Indian militants rally

y Harry Kopyto

ORONTO -- A spirited rally com-emorating Malcolm X was held here eb. 21, the fifth anniversary of Malcolm's ssassination.

The more than 300 people in the audience many from Toronto's growing Black ommunity -- heard a number of speakers ay tribute to Malcolm's ideas and their nfluence on the thinking of today's Black nd Indian activists.

Among the sponsors of the meeting were he Black Liberation Front, the Ontario nion of Students and the League for ocialist Action.

Wilf Pelletier, director of the Indian nstitute and a leading spokesman for this ountry's superexploited Indian com-unity, gave a sardonic and witty escription of the clash of Native Indian nd white capitalist cultures.

Peter Robinson of the Black Liberation ront stressed the internationalism of his rganization -- how it sees the Black ovement in Canada as a component part f a world movement. We cannot really in here until our brothers in the West ndies and around the world are free, he aid. Other BLF spokesmen noted how the pirit of Malcolm X's militant Black ationalism influenced their organization.

A featured speaker was Paul Boutelle, a eading American Black militant, evolutionary socialist, and 1968 vice-residental candidate of the Socialist Vorkers Party. Boutelle spoke extensively f the significance of Malcolm's con-ibutions; among his references to Ialcolm's ideas was an interesting uotation on the role of women as Malcolm ad observed it during his travels in Africa nd the Middle East:

"In every country you go to, usually the egree of progress can never be separated om the woman. If you're in a country lat's progressive, the woman is ogressive. If you're in a country that flects the consciousness toward the nportance of education, it's because the oman is aware of the importance of ducation. But in every backward country ou'll find the women are backward, and every country where education is not ressed it's because the women don't have ducation."

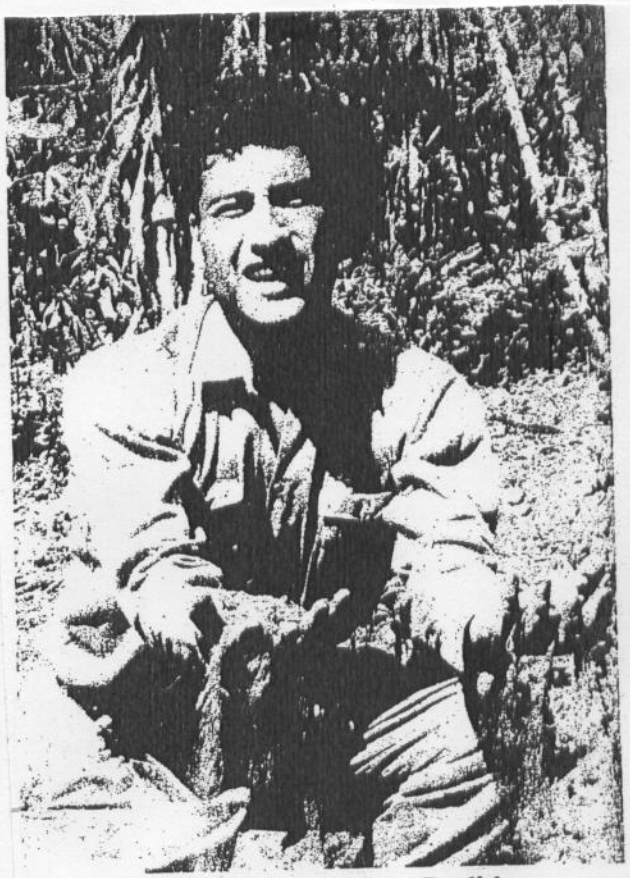
Boutelle also made a powerful defense of ie Black Panther party which is currently ndergoing severe repression from the .S. and local government authorities. He scussed several key issues in the U.S. lack liberation movement, including hether facism exists in the U.S., the issue violence versus non-violence, the need r democracy in the movement and the elationship between the Black and Indian ruggles.

Collections were taken up for the Black anther defense, and to further the work the Black Liberation Front.

Béjar, Gadea, Blanco

INTERVIEW WITH JAILED PERUVIAN REVOLUTIONARIES

(*Labor Challenge*, March 9, 1970)



Hugo Blanco: Land or Death!

labor Challenge
#19 Nov 1970

Blanco on Latin America

To win, we must reach the masses

#28-Mar 1971

labor Challenge

Hugo Blanco on strategy for workers' power

Socialist strategy: an interview

Interview with Peruvian revolutionaries (Héctor Béjar, Ricardo Gadea and Hugo Blanco)

(Preamble and interview from Labor Challenge, *March 1970 –ed.)*

The following interview, which assembles the answers recently given by three revolutionary leaders in Peru to the same four questions, will be of interest to those who are following the current discussion among the Latin-American vanguard on such questions as the role of guerrilla war, its relationship to building a revolutionary combat party, the positions of the various tendencies in the far left, the character of the new regimes in Bolivia and Peru, and the attitude of the Cubans toward these regimes.

The questions were put to Hctor Bjar and Ricardo Gadea, who are serving sentences in Luringancho prison, and Hugo Blanco, who is serving his sentence in El Fronton. The answers were then assembled by the interviewer so as to obtain something like the symposium which the three political prisoners would like to have participated in, with a chance to refute each other or at least carry on the discussion further.

Hctor Bjar is the author of the essay now running currently in *Intercontinental Press (published by the SWP-US –ed.) (The essay)* received the 1969 prize of the Casa de las Americas. He represents the position of the ELN (Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional—National Liberation Army).

Ricardo Gadea speaks for the position of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left). Like Bjar, he was active in the guerrilla struggle of 1965.

Hugo Blanco, who gained world fame in the first great peasant upsurge in the early sixties, is the leader of the FIR (Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario—Front of the Revolutionary Left), the Peruvian section of the Fourth International.

The reference to Fidel Castro in one of the questions concerns a speech made by the Cuban leader at the Antonio Guiteras Sugar Mill at Puerto Padre in Oriente Province, July 14, 1969, in which he said that "if a genuine revolution develops in Peru, regardless of the fact that its leaders are military men," Cuba would defend that revolution. As to the possibility of such a thing happening in Peru, Fidel Castro stated: "What could develop out of this process is that it could continue advancing and could triumph completely. . ."

While such a stand is not without precedent for the Cubans, corresponding as it does to their diplomatic posture in many areas, it became involved in the current discussion among the Latin-American vanguard.]

Ricardo Gadea's reference to the "Trotskyist" tendencies represented by Frias and Posadas is misleading, as neither Posodas nor Frias is any longer associated with the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist movement.

Ismael Frias was a leading figure in the Peruvian Trotskyist movement prior to his split from the Fourth International in 1965. Following the Peruvian junta's nationalization of the International Petroleum Corporation last year—which he took as verification of the junta's revolutionary credentials — he came out in support of it.

Juan Posadas was at one time a leader of the Argentine section of the Fourth International. However, he refused to accept the 1963 reunification of the world Trotskyist movement, which healed a 10-year split, and left the International. The most distinguishing feature of Posadas' political line is his equation of revolution and nuclear war. He calls for the Soviet Union to launch a nuclear attack against the United States, on the premise that only capitalism would be destroyed by such a conflict.

* * * * * *

Question: How do you view the relationship between the party and the revolution?

Bjar: I do not believe it is necessary to have a "party" to make a revolution. In Peru there are many revolutionary organizations. There is a division of labor among them at present. For instance, the FIR has done work among the peasantry; the Revolutionary Vanguard has worked among students and workers. The Maoists are doing work in the student and peasant movements. In this sense, the party is there. It is true there is no united leadership, but I do not believe that possible at this time.

To try and create a party now with a centralized leadership rather than helping the revolution would become a barrier. We need freedom of expression of all the tendencies within the movement and a party would retard this process.

Gadea: No party exists today as a vanguard organization. A series of organizations exist that have some areas of agreement and some disagreements. We are going through a process with regard to developing a party. In my opinion the party will be formed in the process of revolutionary struggle. I disagree with those people who think you can form a group and then call yourselves "the vanguard."

I belong to the M1R. We favor a Marxist movement. We do not consider ourselves THE vanguard but one part of the formation of the vanguard.

We believe that all revolutionary groups should maintain complete independence from the government. The present regime is a reformist capitalist regime. The revolutionaries and the proletariat in Peru have to prepare for a real revolution; there is no other path. The present task is to prepare politically-militarily. To do this the left must participate in the mass movement. The left is weak today. While the left works to strengthen itself it must remember that the perspective is a war, a revolutionary war. Organizationally we must prepare to fight with arms.

We need to work among the masses to strengthen ourselves and to raise the level of combativity of the masses.Right now this is the most important work. But each member, each revolutionary, should imbue himself with the understanding that at a certain moment he will be a fighter and the organization must have the qualities that will enable it to engage in combat. All our work must be in preparation for a future revolutionary situation.

Blanco: Any human endeavor requires organization in order to bring it fruition. A social revolution is a great and complicated endeavor. Although it is the masses who realize this endeavor, they are not fully conscious of the process until the moment of culmination.

The "conscious vanguard," which knows the goal it seeks, and, in general terms, how to get there, is only a minority.

How can one justify not organizing that vanguard?

The anarchists had one explanation, the guerrilleristas (advocates of guerrilla warfare as a panacea — *IP)*, who are not too-far-off relatives of the anarchists, have another.

The position of the guerrillerisas is derived directly from their concept of the revolution. For them, revolution is synonymous with guerrilla warfare, and therefore revolutionary organizing work is synonymous with the the organization of guerrillas.

For us, as Marxists, the revolution is a process, of which one critical phase is armed struggle; one form which this armed struggle can take is guerrilla warfare. Therefore, the conscious vanguard, which will organize and lead the masses throughout this complicated and broad process, requires an organization appropriate for that task. That organization is the party.

To show the ineffectiveness of the Communist parties as a demonstration of the ineffectiveness of a party is an incorrect amalgam. Those parties are inoperative for the revolution because their objective is to maintain peaceful coexistence and not to make a revolution. What we ought to learn from this is that we need to organize a party that participates in all aspects of the revolutionary process.

Precisely the great deficiency in our mass work among the peasantry was that under the impact of the mass movement we did not devote sufficient time to building the party; that omission we paid for very heavily. Reality hit us very hard, once again showing us that Lenin was correct when he held the party to be indispensable.

Q: What role do you see for each of the four major world currents in the communist movement—Moscowists, Maoists, Trotskyists, and Fidelistas—in the Peruvian situation?

Bjar: I believe all tendencies have a role to play and that the existence of tendencies is

inevitable.

I oppose the concept of an Ideological Mecca from which all truth flows. Otherwise all we would have to do is follow instructions from Moscow, Peking, or some other place. What we have to do is work towards a revolution based on our Peruvian experiences while taking into account the Russian and Chinese experiences as a point of critical analysis. This holds also for Cuba.

We believe that in effect there is a new international. That is the student movement of Europe, the black struggle in the United States, the anti-bureaucratic movements in Eastern Europe, and the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

Gadea: The tendency to look for and copy the experience of other countries reflects the weakness of our own Peruvian vanguard. We have ourselves experienced the problems of putting an abstract idea forward without checking the concrete situation out sufficiently. Our guerrilla experience has made us keenly aware of this. It has made us look more carefully at our own Peruvian experiences, like that of Hugo Blanco. We must deal with the realities of Peru. From these experiences and a study of our national reality will come the Peruvian approach to revolution.

The Communist party is falling into the error of thinking the present government is nationalistic and anti-imperialist and therefore gives it support. We disagree with this position.

Other tendencies, like the Maoists, maintain that we must have a united front with the "National Bourgeoisie." Some of the Trotskyist tendencies, that of Frias and Posadas. give the present regime support. As we see it, the correct, truly revolutionary politics for Peru is opposed to all of this.

Blanco: The pro-Moscow Communist parties are organizations at the service of the Soviet bureaucracy. Their objective is not revolution but the maintenance of peaceful coexistence. In Peru they are happy because we have a Soviet embassy so they give support to our pro-imperialist bourgeois government.

The Pekingese represent a current that was correct in breaking positively to the left from the old Communist party. But, unfortunately, from the start they acted according to the needs of the Peking-Moscow faction fight, not in accordance with the needs of the revolutionary process in our country. Their old Stalinist sectarianism has reached grotesque proportions. They are not only sectarian towards the Moscow CP but towards all other currents, including revolutionary groups, the result being that they ended up in sectarian infighting among themselves. Regarding this last point, I'm referring to Peru but I would not be surprised if this is a general characteristic of the Maoists.

Their failure to break with Stalinism, their substitute of diatribes for political discussions, their acting in accordance with the needs of Peking, makes them incapable of playing a leading role in the Latin-American revolution. Nevertheless there are self-

sacrificing and dynamic revolutionaries within the ranks of the Maoists, some of whom may overcome the above-mentioned weaknesses and participate in a positive way in the revolutionary process.

The Fidelista comrades confuse revolution with guerrilla warfare (and they substitute guerrillas for the concept of the party. This is what has weakened them most noticeably. In spite of the great prestige of the Cuban revolution, of Fidel and of Che, they are becoming weaker.

They have some contradictory aspects. Without a deep analysis, their repudiation of the opportunism of the Communist party led them to repudiate Marxism-Leninism in many fundamental aspects. They underestimate the importance of the party. They underestimate the importance of the mass movements. They overestimate and glorify isolated heroic acts, etc. On the other hand, the heritage of Stalinism, which many of them carry, results in their having many Stalinist aspects such as concepts of a "progressive bourgeoisie," lack of clarity of the nature of our revolution, repetition of the "characterization" of Trotskyism given by the Stalinists, etc.

In Peru, reality is forcing them towards mass work in a positive manner. I hope they will incorporate themselves in the real mass revolutionary process and realize that as a "guerrillerista" current they have no future. On top of all this, in our country the Fidelistas have the problem that they must fight a government that Fidel is supporting. Under such conditions how can the Fidelistas lead our revolution?

We Trotskyists believe that the revolutionary process must take as its starting point the needs felt most strongly by the masses, at their actual organizational level, and at their present level of struggle and consciousness.

A socialist revolution is the only definitive solution of all the problems of the masses, and it is to this end that we must orient.

Regardless of how small each conquest of the masses is, if it is won through their mobilization it helps to educate, to raise their consciousness, to strengthen their organizations and their methods of struggle.

This entire process, broad and complex as it is, should be guided by a general strategy that takes into account all aspects of the struggle, that reaches out to all popular sectors of the people. This is the conception of the *Communist Manifesto*, the conception of Leninism, the conception of the *Transitional Program*, the document on which the Fourth International was founded.

I am a Trotskyist, a member of the Fourth International. I believe in its methodology and its practice. I consider it fundamental to organize parties in each country under these general concepts.

Q: What do you think of Fidel Castro's speech where he states it is possible that Peru's

military regime could possibly lead the Peruvian revolution?

Béjar: I believe Fidel is wrong. The Peruvian army continues being an army of the bourgeoisie. This is not simply a dogmatic assertion but a reality carried out by the government in its acts.

Gadea: We disagree with Fidel's speech. We recognize that for many years Cuba has maintained an internationalist revolutionary line towards Latin America. The MIR is itself a testimony to that. But the MIR from its origin has been an independent organization tied to the reality of our country.

The actuality of the present government is that it is not revolutionary. Its reforms are aimed at reinforcing a monopoly capitalist development which is dominated by imperialism. This process is not conducive to the liberation of our country. Instead it is deepening the dependency of the country—very clearly so, after the sellout regarding copper to the United States through the politics of the "Open Door" policy to foreign investors. This development has increased in recent months.

Blanco: It is very sad that Fidel supports the bourgeois, pro-imperialist government because of its policies for developing the country and its anti-imperialist demagoguery. This is the government that has massacred peasants; that stands with the national bourgeoisie and the imperialists in conflicts against the Peruvian workers; that is repressing the students for their resistance against the government's project of forcing the university into the role of service centers for the development of the interests of the imperialists.

In Peru all the revolutionaries are against the government, including the Fidelistas, of course.

There is an incident that I'm reminded of: in Chaupimayo I was once awakened by a peasant woman who was coming from her home quite a distance away, shouting at the top of her voice. I thought something terrible had happened to her. So I asked if there had been an accident. She answered, "No! I heard over the radio that our beloved Fidel has been murdered!" Later when our guerrillas were in the jungle, it thrilled us to hear the fervent support of "Radio Habana." I'm sure that the peasant companera was likewise touched in her hut by "Radio Habana."

Although we must always be truthful to the people, it is very painful to think that that companera is hearing. what Radio Habana and our Fidel is saying about the Peruvian government. That companera today is in control of the land that she won in the peasant struggle. The bourgeois governments have not dared to retake the peasants' land. This present government is trying to get her to pay for it. The peasants are resisting, they defend the land reform they made, they are defending it against the "land reform" of the government.

Why does Fidel place confidence in a government that is fighting that peasant

woman? Why doesn't he trust in the companera who fought for her land and who fed, clothed, and protected *her* guerrillas who fought in the mountains? Does Fidel believe that only guerrillas or bourgeois armies are capable of making a revolution?
It will be the masses of Peru that make the revolution, Comrade Fidel; they will use guerrillas as *one* of their weapons.

Q; Do you think that we will see guerrilla warfare again like that initiated by Che Guevara or will revolutionaries use other strategies and tactics in the future?

Bjar: I believe that guerrilla war continues to be the basic approach in Latin America to begin the revolution, But it is only a method of starting it.

We must try to give the people of Latin America as complete freedom of action as possible. We must avoid trying to enclose their struggle in preconceived concepts. I have no doubt that the people will know how to develop a series of forms in the struggle that cannot be imagined today. And that we will see the participation of various mass sectors and political formations. And they will have only one common aim, which is socialism, which in my opinion is the only way out for Latin America.

Gadea: We believe that the tactics and strategy in the future will be new. There are some important changes taking place in our country.

The present capitalist reforms reflect an urbanization of the economy and of society in general. In the countryside it is possible that the land reform will create a privileged peasant sector and the marginal people, both rural and urban, will grow rapidly. Under these conditions the revolutionary struggle will be reflected in quite a variety of ways politically and in the use of arms.

The process of a people's war moving towards power will have to end in socialism. In this we are with Che.

Blanco: From the answers to the other questions, it is clear that we do not conceive of the guerrilla struggle as a strategy hut only as a tactic to be used in certain moments, under certain conditions.

To raise rural guerrilla warfare to a general strategy or all the countries in Latin America was a great error for Fidel and Che. It has been a very painful experience for Latin America. Fortunately the harsh reality is forcing many of the Fidelista comrades to reconsider. They are beginning to understand that the option is not opportunism or guerrillas, but opportunism or revolution.

(end)

Gov't promises more layoffs

labor Challenge
15 cents
Vol. 1 No. 4/4
March 9 1970
March 23

by John Riddell

The new federal budget, presented by Finance Minister Benson on March 12, reconfirmed the Trudeau government's continuing anti-labor austerity program. Workers already hard hit by layoffs were confronted with the projection of yet another year of rising unemployment, fierce resistance to wage increases, and — despite all promises to the contrary — even higher prices.

The economic slow down encouraged by the Liberal regime as an "anti-inflationary" measure is already well underway. The three giant auto monopolies responded to growing signs of recession by laying off 25,000 workers in February. Massey-Ferguson workers in Toronto and Brantford, whose supplementary unemployment benefits ran out in a lay-off last fall, were thrown on the streets again last month.

Lay-offs spread like a prairie fire through the large manufacturing plants: Toronto's deHavilland sent 2,000 workers home indefinitely in February, while Goodyear has announced it will shut down four plants in Ontario and Quebec in March because of the general economic slowdown.

When Dunlop announced the closure of its Toronto rubber plant Mar. 6, it was new evidence of a pattern — that big business is responding to the economic downturn by closing plants deemed insufficiently productive.

Ontario's Tory government was informed of the Dunlop closure two weeks before the public, but took no action. NDP MLAs pointed out that the Tory government was content merely to accept the word of Dunlop, a world-wide monopoly with annual sales of over $2 billion, that the plant was unviable, without making any independent investigation or considering the social cost of the closure. But Tory premier Robarts denounced them as "socialists who want to control individual initiative" and reasserted that government had no business telling industry whether or not it can close up shop.

All helps to increase unemployment, the goal his Ottawa colleague Trudeau has publicly accepted as part of his "fight-inflation" campaign. Sure enough, recorded unemployment hit a two-year high of 6.1 percent in January, reaching 8 percent in Quebec and 12.8 percent — more than one worker in eight — in Newfoundland.

As for the Liberals' budget, it left the tax structure unchanged, with the burden still placed squarely on the working people, those least able to pay. There had been talk of an increase in pensions, for federal old-age pensions, now limited to a 2 percent increase a year, are being rapidly decreased by the much faster inflation

(See page 8)

Canadian business interests main target

Black Power protests shake West Indies

by John Wilson

External Affairs Minister Sharp would have us believe that the recent demonstrations in Trinidad, Guyana and Jamaica against Canadian businesses and government offices are (once again!) just the work "of a very small minority."

These protests centered on and were triggered by the trial of ten West Indian black students in Montreal arising from charges laid after the Sir George Williams computer center sit-in.

But the anger and frustration behind these demonstrations — which have so far involved as many as 10,000 in a single protest march — goes much deeper than that.

All the authorities, including Sharp, claim not to know very much about the scope of Canadian capitalism's investments — but what can be said for sure is that they're BIG.

It is no accident that one of the favorite targets of the protests have been Canadian-owned banks. There are 43 branches in Port of Spain, Trinidad, alone — representing the Royal, the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, the Scotia Bank, and the Bank of Montreal. These banks have long been the financiers for the entire "British" sector of the West Indies. Varying from one country to another, they are estimated to have 60 to 90 percent of the banking business sewn up.

The list of Canadian insurance companies operating in the islands is even more commanding: the Insurance Company of North America, and the Crown, North American, Dominion, Imperial, Manufacturers and National life assurance companies.

With the growth of Canadian tourism, Canadian capital is making its way into hotels and real estate "development." One of the best known resorts is Garfield Weston's super-exclusive $5,000-a-month Frenchman's Cove near Port Antonio in Jamaica.

Some Canadian companies now moving into or expanding in the hotel and resort field are Toronto's Skyline Hotel, Commonwealth Holiday Inns, the Edmonton-based Canadian-Trinidad Oilfields, and Metropolitan Developments.

Then there's bauxite mining. The Aluminum Company of Canada (Alcan) owns 48,000 acres of land in Jamaica and its mining operation is valued at $175-

See page 3

PROTEST CANADIAN IMPERIALISM. Some of an estimated 10,000 workers who participated March 12 in a massive Black Power march from Port of Spain to the Trinidad sugar belt.

Canadian business interests main target

Black Power

Labor Challenge

Editor: JOHN RIDDELL

Business Manager: JOHN WILSON

by John Wilson

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See page 3

...Canadian imperialism protested

(continued from page 1)

million — the largest single investment on the island. Alcan also has large holdings in Trinidad.

This is by no means a complete picture but it begins to give at least an outline of the prominent position of Canadian imperialist holdings in the West Indies.

It is not surprising then that Black Power militants, students and working people are beginning to see these Canadian interests as responsible for the grinding poverty and exploitation in which the vast majority of black West Indians live.

An article in the March 14 Toronto Daily Star by Stuart Philpott, a University of Toronto anthropology professor who spent two years studying the West Indies, points out the following.

The mass of West Indians barely manage to exist on sporadic wage labor, sometimes subsistence cultivation and occasional postal orders from relatives who have migrated to North America or Britain.

Despite the fact that the islands are capable of growing almost any kind of crop, there are severe food shortages and even malnutrition. Big landowners, including Canadian developers holding land for speculation, deny the use of this land to people who are desperate to find pasture for their sheep and goats.

Essentially, the winning of political independence meant nothing in terms of economic change. Black men may run the governments but they are the puppets of white wealth. West Indian blacks are exploited and suppressed majorities within their own societies.

The continued rule of white capitalism has meant the perpetuation of racism in all spheres, in particular the concept, with which many black people have been indoctrinated, that everything is better or superior to the degree that it approximates "white."

The ideas of Black Power militants which uphold the self-esteem and self-identity of black people therefore have tremendous appeal. This appeal is greatly feared by the Jamaican government, for example, which has banned all writings of Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael. The example and ideas of the Cuban revolution also provoke an hysterical reaction from the same source.

A particularly significant demonstration in Trinidad was reported by Rae Corelli in the March 14 Toronto Star. Ten thousand Black Power supporters marched for 30 miles and 10 hours out of the capital, Port of Spain, to the sugarfields near Couva to demonstrate their solidarity toward the particularly exploited East Indian field hands. They carried a 10-foot-wide homemade black and white banner proclaiming, "Indians and Africans unite now."

"Power," thundered the marchers. "Power," yelled back the crowds lining the route. "This demonstration is the first serious attempt in the history of this country to unite the African and Indian peoples," said Black Power leader Geddes Granger, "If there is no unity there will be no liberation of Trinidad and Tobago."

Granger, who heads the National Joint Action Committee, is reported to have stated that the conspiracy trial in Montreal "was a blessing in disguise" as it demonstrated what kind of "a racist, exploiting society" Canada really is.

Given the conditions that exist, the recent demonstrations are merely the tip, not of an iceberg, but of a volcano. Black people are the majority in the West Indies, and as their consciousness of the role of Canadian imperialism and their struggle against it deepens, they will expose it before the whole world for what it is — Mitchell Sharp's pomposities about "very small minorities" notwithstanding.

The struggles for socialism in Canada and against imperialism in the West Indies are mutually reinforcing, all the more so because it is *Canadian* imperialism that is the chief criminal. Canadian students and workers who are committed to bring about fundamental social change therefore have a particular opportunity and responsibility to aid the West Indian struggle by all possible means.

On Friday, March 13 close to 50 demonstrators marched from Toronto's City Hall to the Federal Building to show their solidarity with the West Indies protests and the black students sentenced in Montreal that day. Among the sponsors of the demonstration were the League for Socialist Action and the Black Liberation Front.

labor Challenge #4 Mar 1970

8 convicted in Mtl trial

by John Wilson

Eight of ten West Indian students were convicted by an all-white jury March 13 of "conspiracy to interfere with the lawful use" of the computer center at Sir George Williams University last year. Less than half an hour after the jury reported, Judge Kenneth Mackay of Queen's Bench Court. sentenced the eight to heavy fines totalling $33,500 or harsh alternative prison terms.

The charges were laid following the destruction of two computers last year following a two week student sit-in abruptly smashed by cops called in by the administration. The sit-in was in protest against the handling of an inquiry into charges of racism against a biology professor.

The vicious, vindictive nature of the "conspiracy" charges — the fact that the authorities were out to get student militants — was demonstrated by the course of the trial. The prosecution produced no evidence whatsoever to prove that any of the accused had anything to do with the destruction of the computers. In this sense it was a clear parallel of the Chicago conspiracy trial — if you have no evidence that your intended victim has committed any serious offence, drag out any law around to nail him with.

In one sense, the verdict was a defeat for the prosecution: two defendants were acquitted of all five charges and the other eight were acquitted of the remaining four counts, including conspiracy to commit arson, a far more serious charge. The eight will not serve jail terms because the Trinidad and Tobago government will pay the fines.

These ameliorating factors should not blind anyone to the main point, that this trial was a vicious attack on the student movement in general and black militants in particular.

Renewed efforts are necessary to continue defense efforts for those still to come to trial. The Canadian left must echo the demand of West Indian leaders that the federal government refund the fines to the Trinidad government and drop moves to deport these black student militants.

photo by Mintz

Rosie Douglas, leading spokesman for West Indian students in Montreal.

Ottawa seizes Black Panther literature; -censorship for U.S. gov't charged

The Canadian government, which has been cooperating hand in glove with the FBI in its persecution of U.S. Black militants and their supporters in Canada, is now denying Canadians access to the ideas and writings of the Black Panthers.

According to Ruth Bullock, manager of the Vanguard Bookstore in Vancouver, Canadian Customs and Excise has seized a shipment of prepaid literature addressed to the store from the Radical Education Project. Detroit, Michigan. Besides 10 copies of the Black Panther paper, the shipment includes such titles as Introduction to the Black Panther Party, Dialectics of Black Power, Black Workers in Revolt, I am Furious Female, The Place of American Woman, Vietnam and the Third World, and Zionism and the Israeli State.

When Mrs. Bullock protested the seizure, she was informed by K. Walker, a Customs official in Vancouver, that "there is a standing regulation in the Customs and Excise Division of the Department of National Revenue that shipments of material which include issues of the Black Panther newspaper be detained and copies forwarded to our head office in Ottawa for review. This review is to ascertain whether these copies are considered seditious or treasonable. The same regulation applies to material which may be considered immoral or indecent."

If government officials don't like the contents, they may hold the entire mail shipment in Ottawa, and the importer's only recourse is to go through time-consuming and possibly expensive appeals procedures.

Interviewed by Labor Challenge, Ruth Bullock attacked this shocking censorship as "equivalent to Star Chamber proceedings."

"Don't you love the ingenuous simplicity' of the regulation — 'whether these copies are considered seditious or treasonable' — when the Canadian government is in no way involved? They are, in fact, holding some kind of secret trial in the interest of the U.S. government," she charged.

Mrs. Bullock has since informed us that the local underground newspaper Georgia Straight, has had 300 copies of the Black Panther paper held at the border, although they have experienced no difficulty in importing other literature from the U.S. They have entered an appeal.

labor Challenge #4 Mar 1970

NDP left debates U.S.-Canada relas

by Dick Fidler

TORONTO — The teach-in on The Americanization of Canada ("It's the *Real Thing!*") held the weekend of March 6-8 marked the first major public appearance here for the sponsoring Waffle group which was formed last year to win the NDP to a socialist program.

The teach-in, held at the University of Toronto's massive Convocation Hall, attracted up to 1,300 at a single session. It featured debates, panels and workshops on the politics and economics of independence, Americanization of the universities, English Canada and Quebec, organized labor and independence, and Canadian foreign policy. If the level of debate didn't always come up to the expectations of many of the audience, the teach-in nonetheless showed the widespread interest in the issue of Canada-U.S. relations and the attempts of the NDP's socialist wing to come to grips with it.

The highlight of the weekend was undoubtedly the opening debate Friday night between Walter Gordon, former finance minister in the Pearson cabinet and now a director of the Toronto Star and assorted corporations, and Cy Gonick, economics professor, Manitoba NDP MLA and a leading Waffle spokesman. (Gonick subbed for Mel Watkins who was ill.)

Gordon's speech was a classic illustration of the socialist thesis that the Canadian capitalist class, of which he is a sterling representative, has absolutely no ability or desire to do away with U.S. domination of the Canadian economy. Gordon, widely reputed as a "nationalist" for his repeated warnings when in office of the dangers of U.S. control, directed his sharpest language at the teach-in against the "radical left" whose solution of public ownership of the key sectors, he said, is "strictly for the birds. Anyone who thinks that this conservative, affluent society is going to go for socialism needs to have his head read."

His solution? The government should issue a clear, comprehensive statement on its policy toward foreign ownership. (He found Trudeau's opposition to the proposed sale of Denison mines to a U.S.-controlled firm "most reassuring.") The government should apply incentives to Canadian business to repurchase U.S.-owned assets — in other words, guarantee profits of Canadian businessmen. And a policy of "public intervention" might be developed, in key business and resource sectors, as in Mexico, where 51 percent of industries like oil had been taken over by the government. However, Gordon carefully stated he would *not* favor nationalizing the oil industry in Canada, which is almost entirely U.S.-owned, "because of the amounts involved."

The bulk of his remarks were devoted to telling the audience why he wants to preserve Canada as it is — things like the CBC (which is little more than a federal government propaganda agency, particularly in Quebec); the National Film Board (which the Liberals are rapidly phasing out through financial cutbacks); and "our legal system," which he admitted is very much like that in the United States.

If it was rather ominous to hear Gordon, a prominent businessman, equate "the control of Canadian trade unions by U.S. unions" with the "sellout" of Canadian business interests to the U.S., it was only ironic to hear this same tycoon, long complicit by his direct corporate ties in the rape of Brazil by Brascan, Canada's biggest foreign investment, piously deploring the presence of dictatorships throughout Latin America ("Sooner or later this will lead to revolution") and hoping the U.S. "won't have to send in the Marines or the CIA" — as if they hadn't done so many times before to shore up the very interests Gordon so faithfully represents.

Rather than condemning the Pearson-Trudeau complicity in Vietnam, he suggested we "should be thankful that Canadian troops are not being drafted to fight in that war."

Cy Gonick's reply to Gordon was low-keyed but scored some good solid points. Any Canadian "nationalist," he said, is bound to fail so long as he addresses his appeal to Canada's "business community." The Canadian business establishment has come to terms with U.S. business. Canadian businessmen have their own branch plants elsewhere in the world, and the Canadian corporate elite sit on the boards of directors of the giant U.S. corporations. "There is not a significant member of the Canadian business elite," said Gonick, "who is not linked into the American corporate elite ... Trudeau and his cabinet are the executive of American enterprises (Canada) Ltd."

This elite, he said, if anything "want Canada to have a bigger share in U.S. continental ties ... they want to be free to sell out to the Americans. If we are to have an independent Canada, we'll have to look elsewhere for support."

Gonick ridiculed Trudeau's opposition to the Denison sale, comparing this sudden interest in foreign ownership with the war on poverty, just society, participatory democracy, and other stunts long since cast aside.

Nor is the problem, as some pretend, he said, "the bad corporate citizens." It is the "good" corporate citizens, like General Motors, which exploit this country and the entire world for enormous profits in irresponsible disregard for safety, lives, and social costs, in a "system of organized greed — organized by these good corporate citizens."

"We oppose the U.S. system because we oppose capitalism," he said. "We want to build democratic socialism in Canada, and we can't do that as long as we are controlled by U.S. capital."

The alternative program he presented was basically a repeat of the basic Waffle manifesto theses presented to last year's NDP convention — public ownership, a break from the U.S. alliance system, to be fought for within the NDP, the universities, the trade unions, and farm organizations. Apart from expressing solidarity with demands for a veto on the appointment of Americans to head university departments, and defense of the CBC and National Film Board as a first step to making them agencies to develop an "indigenous Canadian culture," he did not develop any program of specific demands.

This lack of a concrete program of alternative demands was, in fact, a weakness of all the teach-in panels held the

→ p. 2

next day. In the discussion of Americanization of the universities, Prof. Robin Mathews delivered a shocking expose of how U.S. corporate research grants combine with government policies or lack of policies to decrease the number of hirings and job openings for Canadian graduates in the universities — but his only proposed solution was a quota on the number of U.S. academics to be hired in Canada. Prof. Ken McNaught correctly pointed out the fallacy behind this sterile nationalist approach by noting how many American professors are in fact radicals, concerned with critical study of the Canadian social and economic situation, but like Mathews he opposed suggestions from members of the audience like Joe Young and Jacquie Henderson of the Young Socialists that a more appropriate way to establish Canadian control of the universities would be student-faculty-staff control and research and study programs related to helping the working people take power from the the capitalist ruling class that presently controls the intellectual factories of this country.

Speaking from the floor, Ian Lumsden, editor of the new book Close the 49th Parallel, Etc., suggested an end to secrecy in the hiring and firing of academic staff.

In the discussion of English Canada and

Cy Gonick

Quebec, Jim Laxer, a co-author of the Waffle manifesto, developed the thesis that growing American economic domination of Canada and Quebec is taking on the same function that federalism as a political system has historically played in suppressing the French Canadian nation. It follows, he said, that French Canadian survival is linked to the success of the anticapitalist struggle; because the Parti Quebecois, the main independentist party, is not opposed to foreign capital, it cannot serve as the instrument of liberation of the Quebecois. The PQ is "limited politically by the class interests it is designed to serve — the new technocrats," who would be quite prepared to continue with the economic status quo in return for an increased degree of political independence, he said. French Canadian radicals will unite with English Canadian socialists insofar as the latter engage in the anti-imperialist struggle, which includes a struggle against the English Canadian bourgeoisie which oppresses Quebec. Beyond these correct generalizations, Laxer avoided spelling out a strategy for Quebec's independence. That, he said, is up to the French Canadian socialists themselves.

Unfortunately, his fellow panelist Michel Chartrand, Montreal leader of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, failed to come through with such a program, apart from a rather naive defense of the Parti Quebecois as "not bad at all," attracting a lot of young people "who want Quebec to be responsible." Chartrand's powerful critique of the old CCF-NDP leadership of David Lewis and Co. who leaned on liberals like Trudeau and Marchand during the '50s instead of trying to build an independent radical alternative to Duplessis was in obvious direct contrast with his defense of the CNTU's "political action" program which so far has led to little more than lobbying of bourgeois parties, and class-compromise electoralist politics at the municipal level. In answer to a question from the floor, he clearly repudiated the suggestion that the Quebec labor movement should build an independent working class political party.

A similar opportunity to extend the scope of the discussion on the left beyond generalizations was lost in the debate on foreign policy. Andrew Brewin, MP, the NDP's parliamentary foreign affairs critic, presented the classic (and by now widely discredited) right wing arguments for cold war politics based on clearly stated pro-U.S. premises: staying within the "inevitable" U.S.-dominated military alliances like NATO "to make them live up to their principles" (?), with Canada's major contribution to Western defense policy to be the "maintaining and extending of our armed forces role as peacekeepers." Waffle leader Danny Drache responded with a rambling analysis of the evolution of Canada's "peacekeeping" role as "errand boy for Washington" around the world, particularly under Lester Pearson as external affairs minister, then prime minister. Differing with Brewin's formulations, Drache declared "Canada *has* a foreign policy: it is pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist; what we need is an anti-imperialist, anticapitalist, *socialist* foreign policy." But he did not spell out what this could mean in practise.

The basic lines of a socialist foreign policy were well set out in a resolution the Waffle group presented at the recent federal NDP convention. It included demands like breaking from all pro-U.S. alliances and treaties, including the International Control Commission in Southeast Asia; an end to sales of strategic resources like nickel and uranium to the U.S. and its allies; trade with the workers states and aid to countries building socialism; positive support for the Third World national liberation movements; and an end to Canada's overseas imperialist role.

What is still lacking in the Waffle group, however, is any analysis of the overall world context apart from the immediate concern, U.S.-Canada relations.

In the foreign policy discussion, Jim Laxer justified this lack of a world analysis on the grounds that "Canada is a colony" and our tasks are dictated by the immediate problem of combating U.S. imperialism. Apart from the terminological confusion (Canada, an industrialized, imperialist country, with its own highly developed independent state apparatus, is obviously more than a colony, even vis-a-vis the U.S.), it is nonetheless true that the elaboration of an anti-imperialist strategy for the NDP would be immensely aided by a study of such aspects of world reality as the significance of developments in the workers states, the experiences of socialists in other social-democratic formations, the left within the U.S. itself, etc. For a group whose politics start from the premise that "the American empire is the central reality for Canadians," many Waffle supporters still show a strange reluctance to analyze the key internal contradictions of that empire which will destroy it from within and without.

Another problem facing the Waffle group — painfully obvious during the panel on Organized Labor and Independence — is to develop a socialist strategy for work in the trade unions. Most participants in the discussion bogged down in a sterile attempt, largely provoked by panelist Kent Rowley of the tiny Canadian Council of Unions, to evaluate the contribution of "international" (U.S.) unions in Canada by drawing up a balance sheet comparing dues dollars outflow to the U.S. headquarters with the monetary value of services provided in return. Grace Hartman, secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, summed up the prevailing view when she posed structural problems (e.g. the need for mergers among international craft unions operating in Canada) as "the crux of the problem" facing the labor movement.

Many Waffle supporters seem to think the problem of bureaucracy in the unions is limited to the "internationals." But the bureaucracy is a firmly entrenched phenomenon in all-Canadian unions, too, and is reflected politically in the reformism and class-collaborationism common to the CLC, CNTU and independent unions' top leaderships. The immediate challenge facing militants is not to fight for "Canadian unions for Canadian workers," but to assert rank and file control over *all* unions in Canada. The workers control concepts which have been advanced by some Waffle supporters are an important means of popularizing and applying a strategy for rank and file control. But unfortunately the discussion at the teach-in did not go in that direction.

In sum, however, the teach-in was a considerable success for the Waffle group, which succeeded in carrying its message to significant numbers of Toronto-area NDP activists and students.

labor Challenge #4 Mar 1970

photo by White

PICKET TRUDEAU. Toronto Waffle supporters organized picket of prime tly when he spoke at Liberal fund-raising dinner.

B.C. Waffle group discusses strategy

by Hugn Pederson

VANCOUVER — A meeting here March 8 attended by some 35 people discussed a draft statement of principles for a West Coast section of the "Waffle" socialist caucus in the NDP. The statement is generally similar to the original Manifesto authored by Mel Watkins and others and debated at the Winnipeg convention.

Several people at the meeting, including authors of the draft statement, noted that it did not take any position on some key questions, such as Quebec, women's liberation, the Vietnam war and the colonial revolution. In particular, it did not deal with the continuing debate in B.C. over the desirability of affiliating local unions to the NDP and the need for the party to enter municipal elections. The meeting set up a resolutions committee of six and instructed it to draft additions to the draft statement on at least some of these questions.

Other decisions taken by the meeting included the election of a four-member housekeeping committee chaired by Harold Steeves, a well-known New Democrat from Richmond, endorsation of the April 18 demonstration against the Vietnam war, and the organization by the caucus of a demonstration against B.C. Hydro to protest April 1 increases in electrical rates and bus fares.

The meeting had been organized on an invitation basis, but the caucus decided that future meetings would be open to all New Democrats.

A comment by Gary Porter on this development and some important challenges facing the B.C. Waffle caucus will appear in our next issue.

Hamilton Waffle

The founding meeting of the Hamilton Waffle group will be held Monday, March 23 at Wentworth House, 8 p.m. This was widely advertised at a Hamilton-area seminar on education March 14 weekend, attended by 150 party activists, which marked the opening shot in the preparations for this fall's municipal election campaign.

Que. feminist groups hail Int'l Women's Day

March 8, International Women's Day, was marked in Montreal by a meeting of about one hundred women and a few male supporters. Speakers represented a wide variety of organizations, age groups, and political viewpoints.

The next day, Le Devoir reported:

"Speaking in the name of the Women's Liberation Movement. . .Brenda Zannis explained that her group was formed to struggle against all forms of oppression against women: wage inequality, discrimination in promotion, inadequate information on contraceptives, the difficulty of obtaining an abortion, etc.

"Miss Zannis and other women speakers denounced the utilization of women in advertising as sexual objects, as well as the wretched place accorded to mothers in our society. She called on women to end their legendary docility to become militant like the Blacks in the United States."

Brenda Zannis was one of the leaders of the successful "drink-in" demonstration last year by the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes to protest Quebec's discriminatory law barring women from taverns.

Another speaker, Juliana Beaubien of the Guilde familiale, lauded the Quebec feminist leader of several years ago, Idola Saint-Jean, condemned beauty contests as a "direct exploitation of sex," and demanded that the government set up day nurseries for working mothers. She also criticized the lack of women representatives on the executives of Quebec's powerful Caisses Populaires or credit unions, where 75 percent of the deposits are in women's names.

A representative of 75 striking employees of birth control pill manufacturers Squibb Laboratories, Aurore Tremblay, exposed the bosses' lack of interest in the health of their employees. "Daily contact with these medicines," she said, "has made some men sterile and others have been stricken by Parkinson's disease."

The meeting voted unanimously to boycott Squibb Laboratories until the strike, now eight weeks long, is over. Other demands of the meeting were the universal vote for the Montreal mayoralty and a paid holiday on March 8, International Women's Day.

Brenda Zannis

labor Challenge

#4 Mar. 1970

Rosa Luxemburg, 1870 -1919, leading woman revolutionist

(From Labor Challenge, March 1970)

by Jacquie Henderson

The name Rosa Luxemburg symbolizes for many the struggle against imperialist war and the struggle against the distorters of Marxism. But who was this outstanding revolutionary woman who was born in Poland one hundred years ago this month, who was a founder of the German Communist Party, and was murdered in 1919 by the forces of reaction against the German revolution which she led?

Rosa Luxemburg was the foremost theoretician of the German and Polish revolutionary socialists in this crucial period. Along with the Bolsheviks in Russia she participated in the process of applying the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels, to analyzing the reality of the twentieth century and in bringing about the first successful workers revolution — the Russian October Revolution.

She committed herself to the socialist cause when she was fifteen and from then onward her whole life was dedicated to bringing about a socialist world. Already an established leader of the Polish socialists at the age of 19, she was forced to flee to Switzerland to escape repression. In 1898 she went to Germany to participate there in the Social Democratic Party, then the largest workers party in the world. It was in Germany, the country considered by socialists at that time to be the key to a socialist Europe, that Rosa Luxemburg was to make her biggest contribution.

Germany was at that time enjoying relative prosperity and along with it certain rights for trade unions and socialists to organize legally. Both were temporary, as future years showed time and again, but the bureaucracy of the trade union movement and that of the Social Democratic Party which materially benefited from the situation took it to be permanent. They became more concerned with working within the existing system than in changing it.

Their most articulate spokesman, Eduard Bernstein, said that Marx and Engels must be updated to respond to some new changes in capitalism. Whereas Marx had espoused socialist revolution — smashing of the capitalist state, and its substitution by a workers state based on nationalized property and economic planning — as the only solution to the anarchy of capitalism, Bernstein "revealed" that capitalism could be reformed by the workers movement to the extent that a socialist revolution would not be necessary. The economic crises Marx saw as an inevitable part of capitalism would no longer be endemic to capitalism, according to Bernstein.

The development of cartels and credit would act to suppress the internal contradictions of capitalism; the extension of the franchise and their increased weight in parliament would give the workers political democracy; and on the social level the development of the trade unions and the cooperative movement would provide economic democracy. These developments would not immediately bring about socialism he explained, but with the accumulation of more and more reforms capitalism could be peacefully transformed into socialism. Revolution was no longer necessary.

This argument is strangely familiar today as it is similar to the reformist views put forward by the right wing leadership of the New Democratic Party. How many times have we heard said that Marx was fine in his day but capitalism has changed since then, that class distinctions are being broken down! But Rosa Luxemburg replied in 1899 with the pamphlet *Reform or Revolution*, a scathing attack on reformism. This pamphlet was just one shot in the lifelong battle Rosa Luxemburg waged against the bureaucracy of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and in defense of Marxism. For an entire period, she played the key role in the fight against reformism in the workers movement.

While maintaining that reformism was incompatible with Marxism, she pointed out that the struggle for reforms can play a vital role in raising class consciousness. Her attack was directed against those who saw the reforms as an end in themselves and not a means to the socialist revolution. She showed how the so-called "new elements" of capitalism cited by Bernstein, only served to strengthen its exploitative character.

She advocated a program that attacked the basic nature of capitalism and led the workers into struggle for socialism. This concept of a program, which she counterposed to the right wing Social Democratic program of "minimum" and "maximum" demands, was later called by Trotsky a "transitional program."

When the First World War broke out Rosa Luxemburg's fight against reformism became even more urgent. Despite her warnings about the logic of reformism the right wing Social Democrats took the socialist movement by surprise by coming out in support of the imperialist war. Their cohorts around the world also betrayed the workers by dragging them into the war. Only a handful of revolutionaries, led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Leibknecht in Germany and Lenin and Trotsky in Russia, led the struggle-against World War I. They did so not as pacifists but as true proletarian internationalists.

Luxemburg put it this way: "Peace means the world-wide revolution of the proletariat. In one way only can peace be established and peace be safeguarded — by the victory of the socialist proletariat!" In February 1914 she was arrested and imprisoned for such statements. During those four years she spent in prison she continued to organize for the socialist revolution as the only solution to war.

Along with Karl Liebknecht and Clara Zetkin she led in founding the Spartacist League and in December 1918, the German Communist Party. She concluded, as Lenin had earlier, that in order to bring about a successful revolution a firm, decisive revolutionary party was necessary to combat the highly organized, highly conscious ruling class.

But she did not come to all these conclusions at once. In fact, it was precisely on this question of organization that she and Lenin differed for years. They discussed their differences openly in the Socialist International as comrades involved in a common battle. Since then these real differences have been greatly exaggerated and distorted by different forces in the workers movement. The Stalinists, on one hand, wrenched this discussion out of context, just as they have treated quotations from polemics between Trotsky and Lenin, and tried to show that "Luxemburgism" was opposed to Leninism. In the process they produced a caricature of

Leninism to make it resemble Stalinism. Other forces, particularly those in the New Left, have counterposed this "Luxemburgism" to Leninism in order to prop up their own opposition to the organizational principles of revolutionary socialism.

But it is easy to understand why it was that Luxemburg stressed mass action and the spontaneous will to struggle of the masses while Lenin stressed the need to organize. In Russia the will to struggle of the masses was an obvious fact. Spontaneous mass struggles of the workers broke out and were crushed time after time. At an early stage in the struggle Lenin saw from this that the missing factor was a disciplined vanguard party to organize this spontaneity toward the successful seizure of power.

Luxemburg, on the other hand, because of the experience in Germany, stressed the revolutionary potential of the working class, their will to struggle, and the dangers of bureaucracy. She also argued against sectarianism, as elements in the Social Democratic Party became tired of fighting the bureaucracy and broke off only to disappear shortly afterwards.

Her arguments lean in one direction not because she believed in the "spontaneity" theories that are put forward today as an excuse for not organizing a leadership nor because she had any faith in the reformists and was for that reason hesitant to split from the Social Democratic Party. She did, however, tend to generalize too quickly from the experience in Germany. Thus, misled by faulty information, she sharply criticized some aspects of the Bolsheviks' actions in 1917 while fully defending the October Revolution. These criticisms she never herself published.

In December 1918 she said to the critics of the Russian Revolution: "To those who participated in the German revolution of November 9, and who nonetheless shower calumnies upon the Russian Bolsheviks, we should never cease to reply with the question: 'Where did you learn the alphabet of your revolution? Was it not from the Russians that you learned to ask for workers' and soldiers' councils'?"

Rosa Luxemburg's mistaken position on the national question also flowed from her particular experience. From her mid-teens, she fought against the right wing "Socialist" party in Poland, which was at the time controlled by Czarist Russia. This party abandoned the socialist program in favor of uncritical support of the national demands of the Polish bourgeoisie which sought nothing more than special privileges for itself, all the better to exploit the Polish workers. In Rosa Luxemburg's polemic against the national chauvinism of the PSP in the Socialist International, she and Lenin were agreed, but she carried this further to oppose the general demand of the right of self determination for all oppressed peoples. This flowed from a too mechanical application of internationalism, the dominant principle in Rosa Luxemburg's mind. Lenin explained how the right to self-determination must be supported precisely **in the interests** of proletarian internationalism.

But Rosa Luxemburg's understanding of the nature of imperialism was penetrating. She supported the national struggles of the Balkan peoples to free themselves from Turkish imperialism because she could clearly see that such a struggle would aid the world revolution. She also made a large contribution to. Marxism in analyzing the economics of imperialism. Rosa Luxemburg was described by Franz Mehring, Marx's biographer, as the best brain after Marx.

Lenin described her as an "eagle." She was certainly one of the greatest Marxists and **the** most outstanding woman revolutionary. She practised what she preached, devoting her whole life to socialism, to defending and developing Marxism.

Clara Zetkin, her close friend and comrade, said of her; "In Rosa Luxemburg the socialist idea was the dominating and powerful passion on both heart and brain, a truly creative passion which burned ceaselessly. The great task and the overpowering ambition of this astonishing woman was to prepare the way for the social revolution, to clear the path of history for socialism. To experience the revolution, to fight its battles — that was the highest happiness for her ... She gave herself completely to the cause of socialism, not only in her tragic death, but throughout her whole life, daily and hourly, through the struggles of many years ... She was the sharp sword, the living flame of revolution."

April 27, 1970
334 Queen Street West
Toronto

The Toronto drive to put a $5,000 financial base for the coming year under LABOR CHALLENGE is lagging. So far we have raised $3,700. We are short $1,300 of our objective.

But there is no question that LABOR CHALLENGE is going to keep coming out twice a month----bigger and better than ever.

First of all- Elsewhere across the country the response has been good and $11,000 of our pan-Canadian objective has been raised.

Secondly-- because it simply must continue to come out. If Canada doesn't go socialist it will go fascist, or be destroyed in a nuclear war. And we think that Labour Challenge is absolutely key to the preparation of the forces that alone can assure a socialist future for us all.

BUT WITHOUT YOUR HELP a much bigger burden falls on those who have already come through and in some cases to such an extent that it really hurt in terms of food, clothing and housing. WITHOUT YOUR HELP it means that instead of being turned as outward as we should be---selling the paper, agitating and organizing and conducting effective actions under the CHALLENGE'S inspiration, very precious forces, all too small as yet, will be directing considerable time and energy to the raising of funds to assure LABOR CHALLENGE'S publication.

We are sure that you agree that the lack of a relatively small sum of money should not take up the little time that militants have after working all day in the shop, and who want to use it to the full, completely, seflessly, in the service of the revolution. There is nothing more precious than time--certainly nothing more precious than their time.

On Friday at 8 o clock at our new headquarters we will be celebrating May Day, and at the same time trying to wind up our financial drive. We hope you will be with us to share our comradeship and to help us go over the top with a heavy donation. If you cannot make it be sure to send us a cheque right now in the mail so that you too, confident that we made our objective, can participate in our celebration.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Ross Dowson for the Toronto branch of the League for Socialist Action.

Stop the Dunlop closure!

See page 8

labor Challenge

15 cents

Vol. 1 No. 5
April 6, 1970

CLC 'Program for Reform'
page 6

Unionists discuss workers control
page 5

CANADA — APOLOGIST FOR U.S. AGGRESSION

U.S. out of Laos, Cambodia! Canada quit ICC spy body!

y John Riddell

Recent weeks have brought irrefutable vidence of the ominous extension of Vashington's south-east Asian war from ietnam into Laos and Cambodia. With it as come a familiar cry from the U.S. ppet regimes in these countries. The nternational Control Commission must ntervene to investigate "aggression" by e North Vietnamese and National iberation Front. The invitation has been ade for Canadian members of the three-tion control commission to play the role ey know so well of apologists for a new age in U.S. aggression.

U.S. aggression in Laos is so far ad-nced that U.S. bombing there has now xceeded the level reached in North ietnam two years ago. Figures released the Pentagon March 23 confirmed revious reports of this fact.

Despite Washington's assurances that .S. troops will not be sent to Laos, reports oted by U.S. senator Mathias Feb. 26 ow that there are more armed CIA dvisors" in Laos today than there were Vietnam when Kennedy began the calation of that conflict. The Toronto lobe and Mail reported March 23 that not ly CIA agents working under cover of e U.S. embassy but regular U.S. army fficers were directing the defense of the reatened base of Long Cheng. In ad-tion, on March 20, two Thai batallions were flown into the Laos conflict by a CIA-chartered airline.

by-a CIA-chartered airline.

In the face of this sustained U.S. aggression, the U.S. sponsored premier of Laos brazenly claimed March 26 that the only foreign troops present in his country were North Vietnamese, rejecting a Pathet Lao peace proposal on this pretext and proposing that the International Control Commission take action against these foreign troops.

The calls for ICC intervention in Cambodia followed the collapse of Prince Norodom Sihanouk's neutralist regime on March 18 which placed that nation in the hands of a rightist regime fully committed to crushing the Vietnamese revolution and firmly on the side of Washington and its Saigon allies.

Deposed prince Sihanouk was quick to point to the CIA as probable organizer of the coup. He referred to supposedly spontaneous demonstrations in which pamphlets, placards and signs appeared simultaneously in various parts of the kingdom — some of them in English, in a country where the mass of the people speak only Khmer and French.

Violations of Cambodian sovereignty by the U.S. military, including both ground invasions and air attacks, have been well documented for many months. The most notorious case was an air assault on the Cambodian post at Dak Dam in November 1969 and the slaughtering of its defenders. In the week following the coup the New York Times reported use of Saigon and U.S. planes, as well as Saigon artillery inside Cambodia in support of the new regime.

Yet reading from the same stale script, the new rulers of Cambodia called on March 23 for the ICC to return to their territory to arrange the removal of — yes, North Vietnamese troops.

Canada's record on the ICC is one of consistent support for the most blatant acts of U.S. aggression. The North Vietnamese army newspaper *Nanh Dan* summed up Canada's record on the ICC as follows on Jan. 28, 1967:

"The Vietnamese people know full well that the Canadian government has all along shielded and supported the acts of intervention and aggression of the U.S., both in South and North Vietnam."

Only a year after the ICC's creation to supervise the 1954 Geneva accords, Canadian members issued a minority report justifying the abrogation of the accords by the U.S.-installed Diem regime. When the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam began, Canada followed up quickly with another minority report

(See page 7)

Quebecoise socialist nominated

MONTREAL — Manon Léger, a 22-year-old office worker, will be the socialist candidate in the April 29 Quebec election campaign. She will contest the working class riding of Dorion in central Montreal as the candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Quebec Trotskyist movement.

The LSO's nomination was announced here March 26 by Arthur Young, who is chairman of the LSO and its counterpart in English Canada, the League for Socialist Action. "It is essential that a clear alternative be posed to the Quebec workers in these elections," Young declared. "Amidst the bourgeois parties jockeying for office and the petty-bourgeois parties contending for the protest vote, it is essential that the voice of socialism be heard in this campaign."

The main issue in this election, says Manon Léger, is the necessity for the working people to take power in Quebec. "The workers must build their own party, based on their own organizations, the trade unions, in order to direct the struggle forward onto the road of political power. Such a mass labor party is the missing element in these elections. The bosses have their spokesmen, the middle classes have Lévesque and Caouette, but the working class has no mass alternative, no effective voice. With our modest resources, we, the socialists, will endeavor to point the way to that alternative, to be a voice for the growing socialist and nationalist movements."

The LSO will speak with a clear voice on all the major questions. In particular, Manon Léger will focus attention on the Quebec government's complicity in the Vietnam war, and help build the anti-war demonstration on April 18 in Montreal as part of the international protest taking place on or around that date. She will campaign to defend the French language, to abolish the privileged position of English in the factories and educational system, and in support of wage parity with Ontario. She will campaign in support of the program of the woman's liberation movement.

The LSO chose a riding where they would not be running against a candidate of the New Democratic Party, she said, because they regard the NDP's decision to enter a dozen or so candidates in the election as a welcome change from the previous abstention of this party which retain links with the Quebec Federation of Labor. The LSO has called on the organized labor movement, the three mass labor federations, to follow the NDP initiative by fielding candidates in other ridings in order to present a meaningful, powerful challenge to the capitalist establishment.

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(See page 3)

labor Challenge
#5 Apr 1970

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(See page 3)

Manon Léger

...Que. election

(continued from page 1)..

the NDP's, is thoroughly reformist and incapable of meeting the needs of the Québécois workers. In fact, she said, there is not much to choose between the programs of the PQ and the NDP. But while the PQ rests on the small business and professional classes, she noted, the NDP, especially through its close link with the federal NDP — the Canadian labor party — tends to express the concept of independent labor political action. Thus the LSO is urging support of the NDP candidates where they are nominated.

In 1968 the LSO posed the question of workers' power when it ran a candidate in the Bagot byelection against Education Minister Cardinal. The 1970 campaign promises to be of greater scope. A special issue of La Lutte Ouvrière will be off the press shortly, to be distributed on a mass scale throughout all of Montreal; thousands of posters will be going up; and numerous public meetings are projected for Manon Léger. In addition, a vigorous door-to-door campaign will be waged in the riding.

The LSO has issued an appeal for support of its campaign to all groups and individuals on the left. It has also launched a drive to raise the funds needed to finance the campaign. The 1970 socialist campaign is underway!

Candidate active in women's liberation

MONTREAL — Manon Léger, candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) in Dorion riding in the April 29 provincial election, is 22 years old. Her experience as an office worker and an activist in the antiwar and women's liberation movements stands in marked contrast to the business and "professional" qualifications of most candidates for the government and opposition parties.

Born in St-Hyacinthe, Manon Léger attended school there and in Montreal. She joined the LSO in Montreal in 1968. "The Cuban revolution liberated Cuba and convinced me that Quebec too could be freed from national and class oppression," she says.

As a member of the Lique des Jeunes Socialistes, Manon Léger participated in the massive October 1968 occupation of the CEGEPs (junior colleges). Her program will include demands for student-faculty control of the universities and CEGEPs, a complete democratization of the school system, and the involvement of these institutions on the side of the popular struggle for a free, socialist and French Quebec.

Manon Léger belongs to the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire which has led the struggle for a French school system throughout Quebec. She has held executive positions in the Quebec movement against the Vietnam war.

As a supporter of women's liberation, Manon Léger was one of the organizers of Operation Drink-In last year. The occupation of Le Gobelet Tavern dramatized one aspect of Quebec's blatant legal discrimination against women and showed the value of militant mass actions in the fight for women's liberation.

Manon Léger's candidacy is a vital expression of the LSO's determination to voice the socialist alternative to the present morass in Quebec's political life. As a socialist youth, a worker, and a woman, Manon Léger will ably speak for and defend the interests of Quebec's working people.

labor Challenge #5 Apr 1970

The Quebec election

LSO supports NDP entry

by Arthur Young

MONTREAL — The unusually large number of parties and independent candidates contesting the April 29 Quebec election reflects the general atmosphere: a profound popular discontent and rising protest whcih has found no single expression in the political arena. None of the major parties presents a clear political alternative program for the militants of the growing nationalist and labor struggles which have shaken this nation in recent years.

The ruling Union Nationale is conducting its usual style of campaign — a series of lavish election promises, heavily spiced with attacks on the Ottawa federal government. To meet nationalist sentiment, it has overhauled former premier Daniel Johnson's formula "Equality or Independence." This time it reads "Not necessarily separation, bur separation if necessary."

The Liberals are filling the role of the "loyal opposition," hoping to exploit this or that weakness of the UN on one or another issue, and hammering hard at "bread and butter" issues like unemployment, without offering any solutions of course.

Both bourgeois parties are uneasy about the possible impact on the electorate of the new parties, the Créditistes and the nationalist Parti Québécois, which reflect the ferment in Quebec society and take on added importance in the absence of any mass political party based on the labor movement. Réal Caouette's Créditistes seem to be running strong in the rural ridings, taking votes from supporters of the traditional frontrunner, the UN. They may win some seats.

The main new factor is the Parti Québécois led by René Lévesque, the former Liberal cabinet minister. This is the first electoral test for the PQ, and certainly no independent partyist has ever had a more favorable opportunity to present its case.

The PQ, which is contesting all 108 ridings, is running a high-powered, highly professional effort. It boasts a campaign fund of close to half a million dollars, a membership of some 50,000 and it is waging a thorough door-to-door campaign using thousands of volunteer workers.

While the PQ's appeal is distinctly nationalist — it advocates a "sovereign Quebec state" — it benefits also from the fact that it is the only major reform party in the running. Moreover it is a party of respectable reform, skilfully attuned to the parliamentary illusions and reformist desires of a large part of the Québécois population, particularly skilled workers, professional employees, students and other middle layers. Many of its leaflets talk sensitively about the "gut" issues like unemployment, the housing crisis, the scandal of inadequate old age pensions, etc., although it does not advance any radical solutions.

If the PQ's program might be described as a Quebec version of the federal New Democratic Party positions, it is also true, as a reporter for the Toronto Telegram (no disinterested observer) recently noted, that the PQ program "differs little from the 1966 Liberal election platform It is only a few degrees more to the left." Even its constitutional option is rather modest: as the Telegram also notes, "Aside from the common-market-with-Canada theory of PQ leaders Lévesque and Parizeau, the latter's proposed economic changes outside Confederation are roughly the same as those espoused by Mr. Bourassa (the Liberal leader) within the federation and without risk."

Moreover, the PQ is an enthusiastic supporter of U.S. capital investment. And, while advocating that French be given priority, it is opposed to making it the sole national language.

It remains to be seen how the PQ will do electorally but it has certainly upstaged the left. The missing element in this election is the trade unions. The 250,000-member Quebec Federation of Labor, which has supported the NDP on the federal level, is standing aside from the election, although a few QFL locals have contributed money to the NDP's modest campaign. The 225,000-member Confederation of National Trade Unions is officially "neutral," but many CNTU leaders, including former members of the ill-fated Parti Socialiste du Québec, are publicly identifying with the PQ. The 65,000-member teachers union is speaking on the issues, but refusing to support any particular party. Many of its members are PQ partisans.

Thus a total of over half a million trade unionists are without political leadership.

The NDP's presentation of candidates in a dozen or so ridings, while a positive break from its abstention of past years, cannot in any way be considered to pose a serious alternative. The NPD-Quebec lacks the firm labor base of the NDP in English Canada, and its federalism tends to undercut whatever potential it might have to attract support from the main reformist party, the PQ.

The small left wing groups have reacted in different ways to the election. The tendency of most is to ignore the opportunity of participating in the campaign, and to try instead to create a counter-emphasis around a projected mass "extra-parliamentary" demonstration a few days before the election.

In this context, the campaign of the Trotskyist Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière around the candidature of Manon Léger takes on unique significance as a means of publicizing the socialist alternative, in particular the LSO's demand for a labor party. No other candidature poses as this does the link between the national ferment and its necessary socialist solution, around a program of full support for French unilingualism, public ownership to put Quebec industry under Québécois control, and a strategy aimed at mobilizing labor's ranks toward a struggle for state power.

Quebec may well come out of these elections with a minority government in the national assembly. The prospect of parliamentary instability which so alarms the bourgeoisie can only increase the pressure on the working class as a whole to move forward and begin to lead the struggle for a new Quebec society.

labor Challenge #5 Apr 1970

Revolutionists debate strategy

by Phil Courneyeur

MONTREAL—Over 70 people crowded into the Forum Socialiste here March 26 to hear a spirited debate on what the revolutionary left should do in the April election campaign.

Speakers were FLQ leader Charles Gagnon, co-defendent of Pierre Vallières and now out on bail after three years as a political prisoner; Stanley Gray, prominent student leader, of the Front de Libération Populaire, and Arthur Young of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Quebec Trotskyist movement.

Gagnon spoke in an individual capacity. He bluntly opposed any form of left participation in the elections. "We must categorically reject running candidates in elections," he said. "We reject this form of struggle as a waste of time." Gagnon insisted that "the only form of political action for the revolutionary left is to denounce vehemently all electoral activity, not only in words, but also with deeds."

Stanley Gray represented the FLP. Initially he expressed agreement with Gagnon's contribution — but a significant reservation became clear. While Gagnon categorically rejected the Parti Québécois of René Lévesque, Gray argued that the PQ "represents a step forward." At the same time Gray quickly reassured his audience that the FLP has no faith in the PQ. "The liberation of Quebec will not come through the PQ," he said. Gray counterposed a strategy of strictly extra-parliamentary actions. He announced plans for a mass demonstration on the eve of the election. The revolutionary socialist movement must be built now, he argued; built through direct actions in the schools, the factories and in the streets.

Arthur Young

Gray attacked the LSO demand for the formation of a Quebec labor party as "talking in a void." He considers support for the NDP to be reactionary. "The NDP in Quebec does not represent any section of the working class. It is clearly federalist and reactionary," he said.

Arthur Young, editor of *La Lutte Ouvrière*, defended the program of the LSO. He first defined the areas of agreement on the panel — that the objective of the revolutionary left in Quebec was for an independent, socialist and French Quebec. Further, that only the working class could lead such a revolution. And finally, that the question of participating in elections was tactical, not one of principle, for socialists.

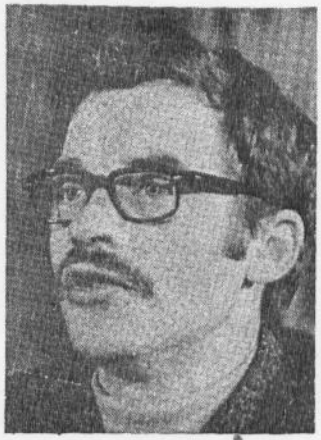
The real issue before the people of Quebec, Young argued, is a workers and farmers government. But the working masses have deep-going illusions in parliamentary politics and a low level of class conciousness. The urgent challenge before revolutionary socialists in Quebec is to confront the capitalist parties and their ideology on their ground. The heightened interest of the part of tens of thousands of workers in politics during an election gives the socialist left a vast opportunity to pose concrete alternatives. The LSO calls for the formation of a trade union-based labor party in Quebec. The labor movement can only win a workers and farmers government by building its own political instrument.

Within the context of the LSO's labor party demand, Young explained his support of the NDP campaign in Quebec. While the NDP is organizationally very weak and presents a very feeble reformist and federalist program, it is a party sustained by a section of the Quebec Federation of Labor and responsible to it. The immediate challenge before the whole trade union movement is to carry forward the NDP initiative by launching a labor party in Quebec.

Young challenged Stanley Gray's position that the PQ marks "a step forward" for the left in Quebec. "The PQ is a detour," he said. "The PQ stands for negotiating with Ottawa for selling Quebec to United States capital. Its program is reformist and it does not rest on the working class. It represents the small business and professional sectors; not the working people," Young said.

The lively counterposition of views between Gray and Young was matched by the audience participation during the discussion period.

Particularly significant was the announcement by Jean Hérivault, chairman of the meeting, that the LSO is presenting its own candidate in a selected constituency as a model of how to present a socialist campaign.



Charles Gagnon

labor Challenge #5 Apr. 1970

Ont. NDP left may contest leadership

TORONTO — Socialists in the Ontario New Democratic Party may enter a candidate for the party leadership at the provincial convention this fall.

The founding conference of the Ontario section of the NDP's left ("Waffle") caucus, held here Easter weekend, adopted a statement of policy and voted to nominate their own leader if no candidate endorses this statement. If it appears that Donald MacDonald will be acclaimed leader, the Waffle group will not necessarily field a candidate for leader, although it will almost certainly contest other leading posts on the executive.

This was the main decision resulting from an intensive debate on strategy that took up the better part of two nights of the three-day conference.

Among the other features of the conference, which was attended by over 100 NDP activists, were workshops which discussed policy statements on women's liberation, extra-parliamentary action, labor, the universities and public education, housing and tenants rights, organizing the poor, etc. A special session on the Dunlop closure voted enthusiastically to help mobilize the party, students and the labor movement in a mass demonstration April 1 to urge the Ontario government to stop the closure.

The conference voted to support and help organize NDP participation in actions against the Vietnam war, in particular the NDP participation in the April 18 march on Ottawa.

A three member steering committee was elected. Its chief task will be arrange a subsequent policy conference in June which will pin down the details of the Waffle group's convention strategy.

The general policy statement, entitled For a Socialist Ontario in an Independent Socialist Canada, applies the main points of the Waffle Manifesto presented to last year's federal convention to the Ontario context. It describes how large regions of Ontario, the richest province, are themselves very underdeveloped as a result of the distorted investment priorities dictated by North American imperialism. The statement poses the alternative of public ownership with "maximum participation in decision-making by workers."

However, several people noted that it lacked many of the precise and definitive formulations that characterized the original Waffle Manifesto.

The decision to contest the party's top leadership post, although qualified in the terms described, marks a significant step forward for the Ontario Waffle group. Many Waffle supporters, while urging a socialist program for the NDP, have tended to ignore posing the need for a new leadership to implement that program. But as one participant pointed out, "it doesn't mean a damn thing when you pass all the left wing resolutions you like at convention, if the party's leading spokesmen like Andrew Brewin continue to carry a contrary line in public."

Many Waffle supporters are not yet, however, prepared to see the question of the party leadership as one of principle. While some argued for running a candidate for leader regardless of who or how many candidates the right wing puts up, the majority felt the caucus should run only if a contest between two or more right-wingers seemed likely to dominate the convention policy debates. Hence the final, conditional nature of the decision to run.

Among the proposals advanced for mobilizing the Waffle group in the coming months was a campaign against Ottawa's impending energy resources sellout to the U.S.

One notable highlight of the conference was the adoption of a comprehensive resolution on women's liberation. This excellent resolution, which will in all likelihood be presented to the provincial NDP convention, will do much to open up the debate on women's liberation within the NDP.

labor Challenge #5 Apr. 1970

City politics, role of labor issues facing B.C. 'Waffle'

by Gary Porter

The formal organization of a B.C. support group for the NDP left wing ("Waffle") caucus has begun. All who consider themselves socialists in B.C. should move in behind this new formation and help to build it.

Two challenges face the new group almost immediately. On April 18 the Vancouver municipal convention of the NDP will be discussing the civic elections to take place in December. The key discussion will revolve around the question of a full NDP slate or merely a partial list of NDP candidates. A full slate poses the central question of labor to power in city hall. A partial list leaves that fundamental issue on the sidelines.

The second big challenge before the new caucus is the debate on the role of organized labor in the NDP — a debate which is already developing and may well be the hottest issue in the provincial NDP convention this June.

There is considerable feeling in the party (mainly emanating from the old CCF element) that the trade unions conservatize the party and narrow its appeal. At the same time there is growing pressure from some of the top leadership of the B.C. Federation of Labor for the NDP to line up 100 percent behind the unions in their struggles with the bosses. This spring and summer promise difficult negotiations with increasingly belligerent bosses intent on holding down wages and keeping a free hand to implement new technology and greater speedups. The BCFL leadership clearly feels it has enough problems without worrying about backstabbing from NDP spokesmen.

Recently Alex Macdonald used his platform in the B.C. legislature to pontificate about the need to develop means to ensure that both bosses and unions became more responsible to "the public interest." Ray Haynes, BCFL secretary, responded in the provincial council of the NDP by asking Macdonald and his cohorts who the public is if it isn't labor.

This debate cannot be ignored by the left wing. B.C. "Waffle" supporters must take up the basic fact that the fundamental strength of the NDP lies in its roots in the trade union movement. It is a labor party — not just a "radical" party. The key thing about the NDP is that it represents a break by organized labor from the capitalist party shell game. It is within the NDP that the political development of the class will take place for a whole foreseeable period. A strong labor contingent in the NDP ensures that the socialist wing of the party will have the widest possible arena for its intervention in the class as it prepares and leads the decisive struggles against the NDP's reformist program and leadership.

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labor Challenge #5 Apr 1970

NDP must run full slate in Vancouver

by Gary Porter

VANCOUVER—With the NDP municipal convention set for April 18-19, the time is fast approaching when some key decisions have to be made regarding NDP participation in the December civic elections.

The Vancouver Area Council of the party recently decided to recommend to the convention that the party contest the mayoralty and six of the ten aldermanic positions.

The convention is faced with the challenge to pick up this recommendation, to carry it through to a full slate of 10 aldermanic candidates, to adopt a program which reflects the needs and demands of the working people in Vancouver and thus maximize this key opportunity to rid city hall of the real estate hucksters and big business politicians, and put labor in the driver's seat.

But it still appears to be, at least partially, an open question in some NDP circles. Will the NDP run a slate and if it does will it run seriously for power with a *full* slate? It appears that among the opponents of a party slate are some of the top leaders of the B.C. NDP, who have the power to use their control of provincial council to veto even the incomplete and partial recommendation of the Vancouver Area Council.

They can't oppose a full slate on grounds of electoral opportunism. An NDP city council in Vancouver would obviously be a giant step towards an NDP government in Victoria and a full slate of NDP MPs from B.C. And it should be clear by now that only by contesting every position — by clearly posing the need for an all-NDP council — can the party make a credible case for implementing its program. Public housing, jobs, schools, hospitals, a cheap public rapid transit system, stiff anti-pollution controls — all these issues demand that the NDP, the party of organized labor, kick the big business parties right out of city hall. A partial slate — a bare majority even if *all* are elected — tends to leave that question begging.

The main reason for the hesitation to field a full slate is the lingering support among many New Democrats and "progressives" for the candidates of COPE, the Committee of Progressive Electors. COPE is built around the campaign machine of Alderman Harry Rankin, its only representative on council, who has consistently kept his distance from the NDP.

COPE has all the liabilities of NDP campaigns on other levels of government — the same sort of wishy-washy liberal-reformist program — without the NDP's great asset, its solid base in the trade union movement. Although endorsed in the 1968 election by the Vancouver Labor Council and a couple of locals, COPE is in no way responsible to the labor movement. It claims to be nothing more than "progressively minded citizens", "friends of labor". COPE is merely another version of the liberal-labor, multiclass, rootless political formations which the Communist party (a vociferous if rather toothless partisan of COPE) has advocated for years.

Instead of cutting through the "non-partisan" political shell game at city hall, exposing the boss parties NPA and TEAM, and fighting for a clear working class alternative, COPE follows the ruling class lead in claiming it has no special interests. It's not a very effective grouping; in 1968, apart from incumbent Rankin, COPE candidates received an average vote of 14 percent in a city where the NDP can poll 40 percent in federal and provincial elections.

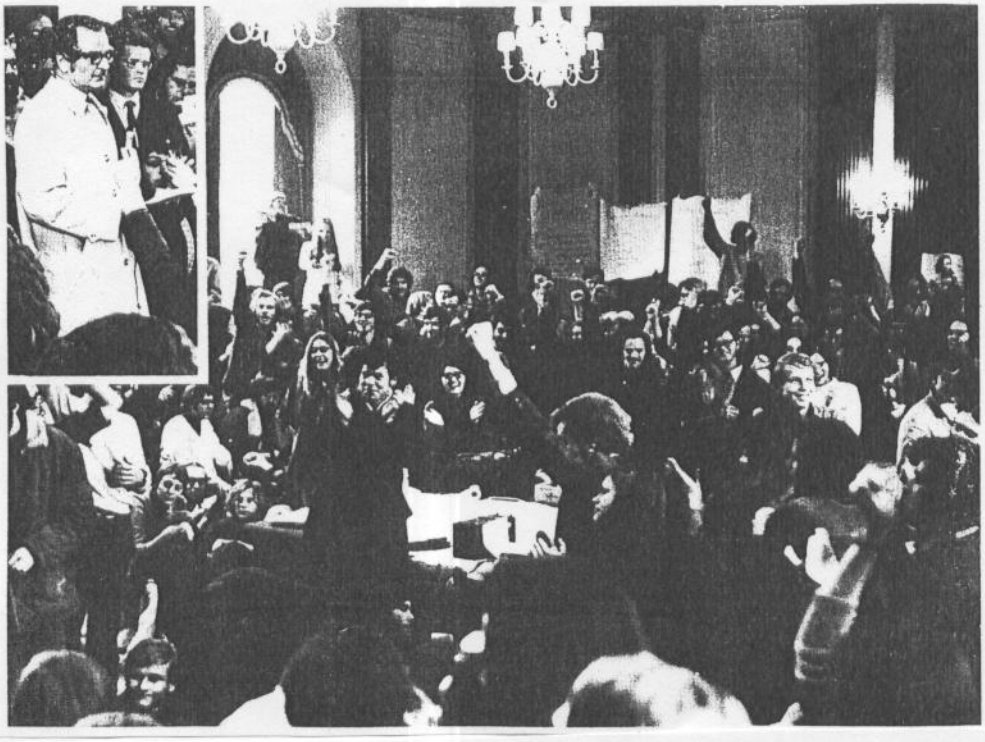
Those New Democrats and others, including Alderman Rankin, who want to get big business out of city hall must turn to the mass labor party in this country, the NDP. Irrespective of their intentions or motives those who counterpose COPE to a full NDP slate are placing themselves in the way of a labor administration in city hall and prolonging the rule of big business in Vancouver.

What is required is nothing less than a full NDP slate. A full slate maximizes the impact of the campaign, ties lesser-known to better-known candidates, puts the whole campaign on a programmatic basis, permits the party to fully mobilize its powerful support in Vancouver and to shake the 56 percent who didn't even bother to vote in the last civic election out of their lethargy.

Most important, it makes absolutely clear that the election is not reduced to a candidate personality contest, to a good guys versus bad guys race, but poses the NDP and the labor movement as a clear alternative to the big business candidates and their phony electoral front committees.

If the NDP fails to meet this challenge and does not enter the civic election, the League for Socialist Action will do its best, even with modest resources, to present a clear socialist alternative. Should the NDP run only a partial list, we will take action to ensure a full slate. If necessary we ourselves will present candidates to complete the slate in support of an NDP council, a labor city hall.

labor Challenge #6 Apr. 1970



U of T yields to occupiers on child care

"We won. We won!" shout 500 students occupying University of Toronto's Senate chamber as U of T president Claude Bissell (left) reads statement giving in to their demands that university renovate day care center to meet fire and health regulations. The center, set up by the Women's Liberation Movement, provides day care for children of university students, professors and support staff.

Occupation of administration building began following Bissell's refusal to discuss students' demands with demonstrators outside. Students, professors, mothers and babies blockaded Bissell's office and invaded Senate. 24 hours later the administration reversed earlier statements that occupation must cease before it would discuss demands, and agreed to pay $2,000 cost of renovations.

The sit-in produced victory for principle that a significant part of the burden of caring for children of the university population is the responsibility of university, and not the mothers of the children. It also provided a convincing demonstration of the effectiveness of militant action around a clear and popular demand.

— **Alice Klein**

labor Challenge #5 Apr 1970

At Conference on Industrial Democracy

Unionists debate workers control

by Brian Gormley

The discussion in the Canadian left and labor movement on industrial democracy which began last year with NDP MP Ed Broadbent's paper at the NDP federal council, was given an organized form over the weekend of March 13-14.

Organized jointly by the Woodsworth Foundation and Praxis Corporation, the Conference on Industrial Democracy in Toronto was attended by nearly 200 people, the bulk of them coming from local unions with a high percentage, being middle-functionaries of the labor movement.

The speakers included Murray Cotterill, Chris Trower, Wally Ross and Charles Millard — all present or former staff men from the Steelworkers — and Gil Levine and Andre Bekerman of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Ed Broadbent, and Gerry Hunnius of Praxis Corporation. Two academics, Professors Leo Roback and Jacques Dofny of Montreal spoke in the early part of the conference.

Very quickly the conference developed into a sharp, though most often fraternal debate, revealing that the issues around which the conference was organized are relevant and will not easily be set aside.

Although there were fundamental differences on the issues of workers control, there was considerable confusion — some of it deliberately exploited by the opponents of workers control — as to what was meant by "industrial democracy," indicating that the discussion in the labor movement is still at a very early stage.

Some speakers made a false identity between the class-struggle concept of workers control and the class-collaborationist concept of participation of employees in the institution, without accountability to or control by the rank-and-file.

This was especially true of Prof. Leo Roback, who in his presentation, a review of the discussion that has gone on in Western Europe and Yugoslavia about workers control, took it for granted that the discussion was about "participation." He omitted entirely the experience in Britain where the ideas of workers control have achieved some popularity in the unions and where important union leaders such as Hugh Scanlon of the Engineers

→2

"The idea of industrial democracy is not new, nor is it an import from outside Canadian realities. It was advocated in the Regina Manifesto of the CCF and earlier. It now needs re-introduction, however, because for several decades the unions have avoided challenging the fundamental issue of ownership rights as exercised on workers and production...

"Alienation and powerlessness of the individual in the work process has been recognized for some time, but while technology has made it more acute, what is now making alienation an explosive problem is the new generation of young workers joining the labor force. This generation is challenging traditions and institutions which have not been examined for several decades. Their questioning ranges from social attitudes to the accepted relationships between workers and management and the structure of capitalist society itself. In the unions, young workers are spearheading contract rejections, they don't attend union meetings, they are unimpressed with collective bargaining and grievance procedure. They sense that the unions have accepted the basis of the relationship which frustrates them and offends their sense of justice and makes them just one more cog in the machine.

"Most of these feelings are well-founded. Collective bargaining is becoming less effective in really altering the worker's position as wage gains are offset by price increases, tax increases and other kinds of economic manipulation by the corporations and their governments. The unions have less and less knowledge of profit rates, expansion plans and other significant information as the process of consolidation of ownership into conglomerates continues. Management decisions are getting harder to offset or even to influence on immediate issues like speed-up, layoffs and closures as the American takeovers escalate and decisions are increasingly made outside of Canada."

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"Like our brothers in Western Europe we should demand that joint consultation be extended, that it involve consideration of every aspect of the management of the enterprise, and that it be made effective...

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photo by White

CONFERENCE ON INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY. Speaker is Gerry Hunnius, with Charles Millard, left, and André Bekerman.

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Other speakers, such as Murray Cotterill, Charles Millard, Wally Ross and Stephen Lewis were quite adamant that the whole idea was utopian and would best be achieved when "a socialist party takes power using the old-fashioned political process" (Lewis), that the labor movement had either already achieved industrial democracy through collective bargaining (Millard) and that it was not an issue and would not become one (Cotterill) and that the way ahead was simply to organize the unorganized, strengthen the existing unions and help the super-exploited such as the grape-workers in California (Wally Ross).

Murray Cotterill centered his attack upon a carefully argued paper presented to the conference by André Bekerman, education and publicity officer of the Ontario Hydro local of CUPE.

While conceding the legitimacy of an important workers control demand — "Open the Books!" — raised by Steel after its negotiations with Inco in Sudbury last year, Cotterill, with the smugness of an entrenched bureaucrat immune from the pressures of life, and living well, asserted that "the average worker doesn't want power. . .He frankly just wishes all the authorities, including those in the union, would go away and leave him alone."

Earlier, Chris Trower had made a plea for the unions to begin an assault upon the management's rights clauses that are automatically inserted by employers in all collective agreements. Cotterill stated that in a period of inflation, union members will be more interested in wage gains than in attacking the management's rights clauses.

Ed Broadbent, while not being clear on the distinction between control and participation, criticized Cotterill for being too pessimistic and urged that the New Democratic Party take a more active role in promoting it. In the floor discussion, Cotterill's contribution was strongly criticized to applause from the audience, by two trade union militants, Lloyd Olsen, president of a Precious Metals CLC local and Vic Hugh from the Goodyear local of the rubberworkers.

Hugh explained that in his plant they had had a long and bitter strike around the issues of workers control — one of them being the continental work-week being pushed on the men against their wishes — and they found that their worst opponents were "the Murray Cotterills in the international leadership of the union." Cotterill's only reply was to red-bait the two militants.

An aspect of the conference worth noting is that there was very little discussion, except for Hugh's contribution and a few comments by Prof. Jacques Dofny, on the need to change the unions themselves, that is to struggle against the Murray Cotterills everywhere to remake the unions and rejuvenate them into fighting instruments for workers control, a combined and inseparable process.

At this early stage in the discussion it is understandable that this problem would be ignored, and one would be guilty of outright schematism to insist that this be posed first before discussing the ideas of workers control — that is, to artificially insert it into the discussion. But at a later stage the problem of the undemocratic regime within the unions will be to the fore because it is already a concrete problem which more and more workers are beginning to grasp.

The conference revealed the extent of the division which separates sections of the labor leadership — one wing is not only politically bankrupt, but from the business-unionism arguments presented by Cotterill, Millard and Co., are so out of touch with the changing reality, that the further development of the debate must even put in question the politics of the bureaucracy as a whole.

"Three concepts...are frequently confused: participation, control and self-management. 'Workers participation in management implies a situation where workers' representatives are to some extent involved in the process of management decision-making, but where ultimate power is in the hands of management.' (Jan Clegg, Industrial Democracy). Workers' control is a strategic demand made by workers for actual control over the means and processes of production. Workers' self-management describes a situation where the workers themselves manage and control their own enterprises and industry in cooperation with the wider community. Workers' control can thus be seen as a transitional demand in the move from participation to complete self-management.

"The term *Industrial democracy* ... describes both the transitional period of workers' control as well as full self-management. It is not a substitute for overall economic control and public ownership of the commanding heights of the economy, and it is not a substitute for strong and effective trade unions...

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At Conference on Industrial Democracy
Unionists debate workers control

by Brian Gormley *(From Labor Challenge, April 1970)*

The discussion in the Canadian left and labor movement on industrial democracy which began last year with NDP MP Ed Broadbent's paper at the NDP federal council, was given an organized form over the weekend of March 13-14.

Organized jointly by the Woodsworth Foundation and Praxis Corporation, the Conference on Industrial Democracy in Toronto was attended by nearly 200 people, the bulk of them coming from local unions with a high percentage, being middle-functionaries of the labor movement.

The speakers included Murray Cotterill, Chris Trower, Wally Ross and Charles Millard — all present or former staff men from the Steelworkers — and Gil Levine and Andre Bekerman of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Ed Broadbent, and Gerry Hunnius of Praxis Corporation. Two academics, Professors Leo Roback and Jacques Dofny of Montreal spoke in the early part of the conference.

Very quickly the conference developed into a sharp, though most often fraternal debate, revealing that the issues around which the conference was organized are relevant and will not easily be set aside.

Although there were fundamental differences on the issues of workers control, there was considerable confusion — some of it deliberately exploited by the opponents of workers control — as to what was meant by "industrial democracy," indicating that the discussion in the labor movement is still at a very early stage.

Some speakers made a false identity between the class-struggle concept of workers control and the class- collaborationist concept of participation of employees in the institution, without accountability to or control by the rank-and-file.

This was especially true of Prof. Leo Roback, who in his presentation, a review of the discussion that has gone on in Western Europe and Yugoslavia about workers control, took it for granted that the discussion was about "participation." He omitted entirely the experience in Britain where the ideas of workers control have achieved some popularity in the unions and where important union leaders such as Hugh Scanlon of the Engineers came out against "participation."

Other speakers, such as Murray Cotterill, Charles Millard, Wally Ross and Stephen Lewis were quite adamant that the whole idea was utopian and would best be achieved when "a socialist party takes power using the old-fashioned political process" (Lewis), that the labor movement had either already achieved industrial democracy through collective bargaining (Millard) and that it was not an issue and would not become one (Cotterill) and that the way ahead was simply to

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(end)

(See accompanying three contributions of André Beckerman, Chris Trower and Gerry Hunnius)

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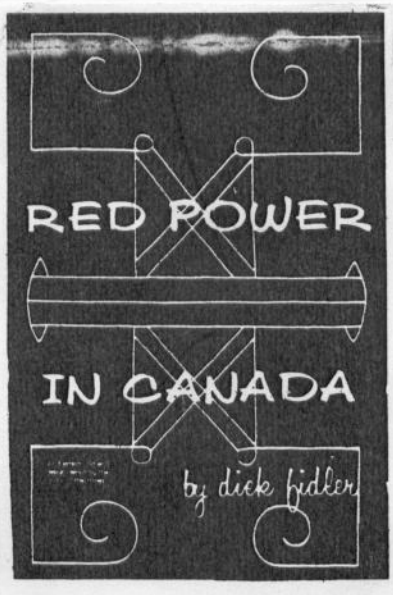
Labor Challenge/ April 6, 1970

Toward nationhood

Control of own communities is growing Indian demand

Indian program for sovereignty



labor Challenge

November 9, 1970

A study of the developing Native Indian movement for self-determination. 35¢

Indians fight for control of their schools

Labor Challenge, September 25, 1972

Toward Nationhood – The new 'Indians'

by Dick Fidler
(from Labor Challenge, April 1970)

What does the future hold for Canada's half-million Indians? This question — usually ignored by the countless articles and books now appearing on the "Indian question," most of which don't go much beyond moralizing on the terrible poverty of the Native people — strikes at the root of the Indians' dilemma. Can the Indians, descendants of a Stone Age people uprooted and almost exterminated by the capitalist colonization of North America, ever find acceptance as equals with whites in a modern industrial society? And if so, how?

The prevailing view among Canada's ruling circles is clear: the Indians must assimilate. They must, as Prime Minister Trudeau put it recently, "become Canadians as all other Canadians." His government's aptly named "white paper" which projects the outright abolition of Indian treaty rights within five years spells this out in more detail. At the same time, this society every day reveals how unwilling and unable it is to "assimilate" the Indians. Even when destroyed as a people, they are completely rejected as individuals, the unemployed, underpaid victims of racism.

The essence of the White Paper is the proposal to remove Indian lands from the protection against alienation now contained in the Indian Act provisions. Not only does this close the door to attempts to encourage economic development of the reserves, it is the prelude to a massive land grab of these six million acres, much of it choice land near the cities, by real estate speculators and industrial consortiums.

South of the border, where Indians lost 90 million of their 140 million acres through local land grabs following the Allotment Act of 1887 (which was supposed to give them land), and still more during the "Termination policy" of the 1950s and early '60s, they are less hypocritical about it now. A headline on the cover of a recent issue of the *National Review (a U.S. publication –ed.)* cynically states the extreme right-wing position: "Did the United States destroy the Indians? No, but it should have."

A growing number of Indians — and all Indian leaders — reject out of hand this fatalistic perspective. Self-help and self- definition, expressed in the remarkable revival of interest among young Indians in their tribal origins, languages, customs, history, even religious traditions — in short, whatever distinguishes them **as Indians** from the dominant, exploiting racist white capitalist culture — are the keystones of the growing movement for Red Power. Every demand, every struggle of the Indian to assert their rights, refutes the lying image of the lazy, shiftless Indian inculcated in our children — white **and** Indian — by this racist society, beginning with John Wayne's exploits on TV's late, late show.

The basic program being developed by the new Indian leadership is summarized in the demands of the Native Alliance for Red Power, reprinted on this page. It is a

program with revolutionary implications because it poses a direct challenge to the natural drive of capitalist society to suppress, absorb or cast aside every national minority or nationality within its borders.

But, the Canadian left is by no means unanimous in its appreciation of this dynamic of the Red Power movement. For example, at the recent founding conference of the Ontario NDP left wing, the "Waffle" group, some participants argued against singling out Indians and Franco-Ontarions as significant "minorities" worth including along with women, students, tenants unions, etc., as powerful potential allies of the organized working class in the struggle for socialism. Surely the vastly more numerous Italian-Canadians and, other immigrant groups are "minorities" with greater potential influence, they objected.

Forgotten here was a vital distinction between **ethnic** minorities like the immigrants who generally have a clearly assimilationist orientation toward the Anglo-Saxon cultural majority in English Canada insofar as it has been able to absorb them, and relatively oppressed national minorities like the French and Indians who are defining themselves in **opposition** to this society's cultural and other values.

But, some socialists might object, surely you are not saying that the Indians constitute a "nation"? Don't they lack the normal attributes of a nation as it is commonly understood? They have no common territory, no common language, no distinct viable economic life, and their cultural and historical traditions, while picturesque, have little relevance to a complex industrial society. Or so the argument goes. . .

Regardless of this or that formal criterion, the key question is how the Indians see themselves — their collective consciousness. In this sense, the Indians are evolving, from a race to a nationality... to a nation, in much the same way that the Black people or the Chicanos in the United States may be said to constitute a nation, a nation without territory. Moreover, the Indians can be said to possess to some degree **all** of the formal criteria of a nation, too, beginning with a territory. It is precisely their deep attachment to their lands that has enabled the Indians to resist destruction so far. These lands, recognizd by treaty, include 2,000 reserves on six mllion acres across Canada. Much of this land is marginal, undeveloped, largely uncultivable, and useful mainly for the traditional pursuits of hunting, trapping and fishing.

But much of it is very valuable. In British Columbia, a multi-million dollar shopping center stands on land leased from the Squamish band of West and North Vancouver, while in Kamloops, Indians hired a firm of business consultants to draw up a plan for developing their 32,800 acre reserve, and created their own industrial estate.

The shocking fact about the Indians' reserve lands is that no one has ever done a comprehensive survey of their economic viability — least of all the government,

which is concerned mainly with dispersing the Indians out of the reserves. The government's Hawthorn-Tremblay report, the most exhaustive study of Canada's Indians so far, concluded only that an economic survey was necessary, while maintaining that development of the reserves and Indian communities is "distinctly secondary" to "massive efforts" to move Indians off the reserves and into the cities. Even available funds for development have not been disbursed; last year the staff of the Ontario government's Indian Development Branch quit because, out of the million dollars the province had earmarked for Indian projects, only a fraction had been spent and many self-help projects had been refused financial aid by the government. Of the federal Indian Affairs Department's $62 million budget in a recent year, only $1.5 million was spent on economic development. Because title to the reserves is vested in the government, the Indians cannot arrange bank loans in their own name; but Indians charge that the government fails to back loans for industrial and commercial development of the reserves. An unidentified former top official of the Branch was quoted in the *(Toronto daily) Globe and Mail,* Oct. 21, 1967:

"As a rule the economic development programs that the Branch supports are the marginal, low-profit enterprises like fresh water fish cooperatives. They're useful, but it was my experience that whenever anyone proposed that the Indians themselves run some larger enterprise — such as building their own resort community instead of leasing to a developer, or organizing a company to exploit their own oil and gas resources — the idea was dismissed; because of fear that established companies would put on pressures against so-called unfair competition from the Indians, backed by the government.

"Indian band capital funds totaling $30 million are on deposit in Ottawa. Oil and gas alone on Indian reserves is estimated to total $2 billion.

"How is it that such rich people are so poor? Why can't Crown corporations or commercial corporations be set up, primarily under Indian control but with expert outside help, to exploit these resources? Why can't the Indians hire their own management talent?"

The official is merely echoing a key demand raised by Red Power militants — for economic development of the reserves by the Indians themselves, or "foreign aid" as they put it. Harold Cardinal says: "What the Indian wants is really quite simple. He wants the chance to develop the resources available to him on his own homeland, the reserve.. . . (This) includes financial assistance. . .training in the precise skills he will need to develop the resources. access to expert advice and counsel... Indian involvement. Our people want the right to set their own goals, determine their own priorities, create and stimulate their own opportunities and development."

What this means is that, in effect, the Indians do indeed possess a major attribute of most nations, their own territory, much of it bordering established

industrial areas of the country. And most important, an increasing number of Indians see their future as a people linked with the fate of these reserves. Despite the massive migration in recent years into the cities and the terrible poverty of the reserves, very few treaty Indians — only 600 a year — voluntarily opt out of legal Indian status. And 500 of these are women who, by a blatantly discriminatory provision of the Indian Act, automatically lose treaty status when they marry outsiders.

What this close identification with the reserves means for the working out of other aspects of the Indian program for, self-determination will be discussed in the concluding article of this series, next issue.

***

Control of own communities is growing Indian demand

The following is the program of the Native Alliance for Red Power (NARP) a West Coast Native organization established two years ago. It was published in the third issue of the *NARP Newsletter,* Jan.-Feb. 1969. It presents a succinct summary of the main demands of the growing Red Power movement, in the words of the Indian people themselves.

* * *

1. We will not be free until we are able to **determine our own destiny.** Therefore, we want power to determine the destiny of our reservations and communities. **Gaining power in our reservations and communities** and power over our lives will entail the abolishment of the "Indian Act," and the **destruction of the colonial office** (Indian Affairs Branch).

2. This racist government has robbed, cheated and brutalized us, and is responsible for the deaths of untold numbers of our people. We feel under no obligation to support this government in the form of **taxation**. Therefore, we want an end to the collection of money from us in the form of taxes.

3. The history of Canada was written by the oppressors, the invaders of this land. Their lies are perpetrated in the **educational system** of today. By failing to expose the true history of this decadent Canadian society, the schools facilitate our continued oppression. Therefore, we want an education that teaches us our true history and exposes the racist values of this society.

4. In this country, Indian and Metis represent three percent of the population, yet we constitute approximately 60 percent of the inmates in prisons and jails. Therefore, we want an immediate end to the unjust arrests and harassment of our people by the racist **police.**

5. When brought before the **courts** of this country, the redman cannot hope to get a fair hearing from white judges, jurors and court officials. Therefore, we want natives to be tried by a jury of people chosen from native communities or people of their racial heritage. Also, we want freedom for those of our brothers and sisters now being unjustly held in the prisons of this country.

6. The **treaties** pertaining to fishing, hunting, trapping and property rights and special privileges have been broken by this government. In some cases, our people did not engage in treaties with the government and have not been compensated for their loss of land. Therefore, for those of our people we want fair **compensation.** Also, we want the government to honor the statutes, as laid down in these treaties, as being supreme and not to be infringed upon by any legislation whatsoever.

7. The large industrial companies and corporations that have raped the natural resources of this country are responsible, along with their government, for the extermination of the resources upon which we depend for food, clothing and shelter. Therefore, we want an immediate end to this exploitation, and compensation from these thieves. We want the government to give **foreign aid** to the areas comprising the Indian Nation, so that we can start desperately needed programs concerning housing, agricultural and industrial cooperatives. **We want to develop our remaining resources in the interests of the redman, not in the interests of the white corporate elite.**

8. The white power structure has used every possible method to destroy our spirit, and the will to resist. They have divided us into status and non-status, American and Canadian, Metis and Indian. We are fully aware of their "divide and rule" tactic, and its effect on our people.

RED POWER IS THE SPIRIT TO RESIST.
RED POWER IS PRIDE IN WHAT WE ARE.
RED POWER IS LOVE FOR OUR PEOPLE.
RED POWER IS OUR COMING TOGETHER TO FIGHT FOR LIBERATION.
RED POWER IS NOW!

NDP, socialists in Quebec bid

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April 20, 1970

NDP leader Morin backs LSO nominee

MONTREAL, April 13 — The leader of the New Democratic Party of Quebec, Roland Morin, today endorsed the campaign of Manon Leger, candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere in Dorion riding.

He said:

"Manon Leger is a member of the NDP. I consider that she represents a valid alternative in the riding of Dorion."

For labor party

by Phil Courneyeur

MONTREAL — The campaign of Manon Léger, the 22-year old candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière in Dorion riding in the April 29 Quebec election, is taking on unique importance as the only campaign which consciously seeks to present a combined working class and socialist alternative for the liberation of Quebec. Her candidature stands out heroically against the scandalous sell-out of whole sections of the labor leadership, including many former activists in the NDP and Parti Socialiste du Québec, to the reformist non-working class Parti Québécois of René Lévesque.

This has not gone unnoticed even by the capitalist press. Although Manon Leger's campaign was almost blacked out during the first two weeks, and is totally excluded from the CBC's formula for free political broadcasts, she got her first big news breakthrough as a result of her forceful intervention at the April 4-5 conference of the three trade union federations. (see separate article)

La Presse April 6 devoted several column inches to Leger's motion for the formation of a mass labor party in Quebec and to quoting the proposals of La Lutte Ouvière, the Quebec Trotskyist paper.

Three days later, La Presse carried a round-up article on the Quebec left which gave prominent coverage to the Trotskyist campaign.

Léger's campaign is not confined to Dorion riding. It has included distributions of thousands of leaflets to the mass PQ rallies which attract thousands of radical, nationalist-oriented youth.

Léger has spoken to student meetings at McGill and Sir George Williams and to the Montreal Socialist Forum. Other meetings are being arranged.

An appeal from Manon Léger and the LSO was distributed to the most recent meeting of the Montreal council of the CNTU calling upon them to support the LSO socialist campaign and the NDP. Under the leadership of Michel Chartrand, however, the council voted formal support to the PQ.

35,000 copies of a special issue of La Lutte Ouvriere will be distributed in Dorion and across Montreal. Hundreds of attractive posters are now going up in Dorion.

The special La Lutte proclaims: Vote Manon Léger in Dorion! Elsewhere, Vote NDP. The posters call for A Workers' government, Jobs for All, A Unilingual French Quebec.

The LSO program emphasizes that the national liberation of Quebec can only come through socialism — through a workers and farmers government that will put they key industries now owned by English-speaking capital interests and their local agents under public ownership, to be operated and controlled by the Quebecois workers themselves.

Léger's program advances a series of

See page 3

March on Ottawa demands women's right to abortion

ON TO OTTAWA!

by Joan Newbigging

Women's liberation groups and other organizations across the country are working on the first major Canada-wide women's liberation campaign.

The campaign, to demand the immediate repeal of the laws restricting abortion, has been launched by the Vancouver Women's Caucus. It will feature an Abortion Caravan - a cavalcade of cars scheduled to leave Vancouver on April 28, visit major cities across the country and arrive in Ottawa on May 9, the eve of Mother's Day, for a mass demonstration which will coincide with other actions across Canada.

In addition to the demand for the immediate repeal of the abortion laws, the Toronto committee is calling for free abortions on demand. This second demand underlines how repeal of the abortion laws alone is not enough - the government must provide the facilities and trained personnel to ensure that all women who want abortions have access to them free of charge.

Canada's abortion laws are a constant source of suffering and misery to thousands of women. These laws, which were reformed last year to allow abortions if, in the opinion of a specially constituted abortion committee, the mother's life or health were endangered, make abortion a criminal offense. The reforms have done little, if anything to improve the situation.

The state still abrogates to itself the right to decide whether or not women will bear children, and forces women to go through numerous humiliations and great expense in order to try and obtain legal abortions. As a result hundreds of thousands of women are forced to resort to backroom abortionists. Approximately 2,000 Canadian women are killed every year by botched up abortions, about 20,000 receive severe internal injuries at the hands of quack abortionists, and hundreds of thousands of unwanted children are born annually.

The shocking scandal of this legislation, which condones the mass murder and maiming of thousand of women, and which hits at almost every household (one out of

See page 7

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MONTREAL — The campaign of Manon Léger, the 22-year old candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière in Dorion riding in the April 29 Quebec election, is taking on unique importance as the only campaign which consciously seeks to present a combined working class and socialist alternative for the liberation of Quebec. Her candidature stands out heroically against the scandalous sell-out of whole sections of the labor leadership, including many former activists in the NDP and Parti Socialiste du Québec, to the reformist non-working class Parti Québécois of René Lévesque.

This has not gone unnoticed even by the capitalist press. Although Manon Léger's campaign was almost blacked out during the first two weeks, and is totally excluded from the CBC's formula for free political broadcasts, she got her first big news breakthrough as a result of her forceful intervention at the April 4-5 conference of the three trade union federations. (see separate article)

La Presse April 6 devoted several column inches to Leger's motion for the formation of a mass labor party in Quebec and to quoting the proposals of La Lutte Ouvière, the Quebec Trotskyist paper.

Three days later, La Presse carried a round-up article on the Quebec left which gave prominent coverage to the Trotskyist campaign.

Léger's campaign is not confined to Dorion riding. It has included distributions of thousands of leaflets to the mass PQ rallies which attract thousands of radical, nationalist-oriented youth.

Léger has spoken to student meetings at McGill and Sir George Williams and to the Montreal Socialist Forum. Other meetings are being arranged.

An appeal from Manon Léger and the LSO was distributed to the most recent meeting of the Montreal council of the CNTU calling upon them to support the LSO socialist campaign and the NDP. Under the leadership of Michel Chartrand, however, the council voted formal support to the PQ.

35,000 copies of a special issue of La Lutte Ouvriere will be distributed in Dorion and across Montreal. Hundreds of attractive posters are now going up in Dorion.

The special La Lutte proclaims: Vote Manon Léger in Dorion! Elsewhere, Vote NDP. The posters call for A Workers' government, Jobs for All, A Unilingual French Quebec.

The LSO program emphasizes that the national liberation of Quebec can only come through socialism — through a workers and farmers government that will put they key industries now owned by English-speaking capital interests and their local agents under public ownership, to be operated and controlled by the Quebecois workers themselves.

Léger's program advances a series of

See page 3

..Program

continued from page 1

interrelated transitional demands. On Housing: a massive program of public housing and a freeze on all rent increases. On Unemployment: a 30-hour week at the same take-home pay, and a sliding scale of hours which would progressively shorten the work week as automation increases productivity. On Inflation: a sliding scale of wages and pensions to increase the income of workers and pensioners automatically with any increases in the cost of living. On Taxation: tax profits, not the poor; open the books of all corporations to public inspection: no tax write-offs; tax the huge investments of the Church; no taxation of incomes $6,000 and under; no taxation on food, clothing, and household supplies. On Education: A unilingual French school system; salaries and free tuition for all university and junior college students; student-faculty control of all campuses; end corporation control of education. On Industry: For public ownership and workers control; no lay-offs; wage parity with Ontario; no runaway plants. On Women's Rights: free abortions on demand; equal pay for equal work; a wage for housewives; no sex discrimination in employment or in the educational system.

The focus of the LSO campaign is on the labor movement and the necessity for the building of a mass, trade union-based labor party. The bulk of press coverage to date has stressed this demand, indicating that the capitalist press is well aware of the crisis in the labor movement brought on by the lack of such a party.

Le 29 avril dans Dorion

VOTONS Manon Léger

- **Un gouvernement des travailleurs**
- **Des emplois pour tous**
- **Un Québec unilingue français**

Candidate de la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière
226 est, Ste-Catherine, 861-3018

March on Ottawa demands women's right to abortion

labor Challenge

ON TO OTTAWA!

by Joan Newbigging

Women's liberation groups and other organizations across the country are working on the first major Canada-wide women's liberation campaign.

The campaign, to demand the immediate repeal of the laws restricting abortion, has been launched by the Vancouver Women's Caucus. It will feature an Abortion Caravan - a cavalcade of cars scheduled to leave Vancouver on April 28, visit major cities across the country and arrive in Ottawa on May 9, the eve of Mother's Day, for a mass demonstration which will coincide with other actions across Canada.

In addition to the demand for the immediate repeal of the abortion laws, the Toronto committee is calling for free abortions on demand. This second demand underlines how repeal of the abortion laws alone is not enough - the government must provide the facilities and trained personnel to ensure that all women who want abortions have access to them free of charge.

Canada's abortion laws are a constant source of suffering and misery to thousands of women. These laws, which were reformed last year to allow abortions if, in the opinion of a specially constituted abortion committee, the mother's life or health were endangered, make abortion a criminal offense. The reforms have done little, if anything to improve the situation.

The state still abrogates to itself the right to decide whether or not women will bear children, and forces women to go through numerous humiliations and great expense in order to try and obtain legal abortions. As a result hundreds of thousands of women are forced to resort to backroom abortionists. Approximately 2,000 Canadian women are killed every year by botched up abortions, about 20,000 receive severe internal injuries at the hands of quack abortionists, and hundreds of thousands of unwanted children are born annually.

The shocking scandal of this legislation, which condones the mass murder and maiming of thousand of women, and which hits at almost every household (one out of

See page 7

From p. 1

...cavalcade defends right to abortions

Continued from page 1

four women in North America have an abortion sometime during their lives), makes this an issue which affects everyone.

In the United States, growing pressure from the women's liberation movement has resulted in some sweeping changes in abortion laws in several states. New York has just legalized abortions performed by a doctor. Hawaii has legalized all abortions but for certain restrictions including a 90-day residency requirement. Thirteen state legislatures are presently considering bills similar to Hawaii's.

These much-needed changes take place against a background of militant demonstrations and lawsuits which pose the basic constitutional right of women to decide for themselves whether or not to have children. In New York, for example, a broad coalition of groups calling itself People to Abolish the Abortion Laws organized a demonstration of 3,000 on March 28 under the central slogan of Free Abortions on Demand.

The legal concessions being granted by U.S. legislators — themselves no friends of women's rights — are still a far cry from what's needed. While some states now recognize the legal right of women to decide for themselves whether or not to have an abortion, many women are still excluded from obtaining abortions because of the expense involved, the conservatism of the medical profession, and the lack of facilities. Nevertheless these laws are an important step towards the goal of free abortions for all women who desire them.

These developments give a clearer perspective and an added impetus to the cross-Canada anti-abortion law campaign. The changes in U.S. abortion legislation provide us with a powerful lever which we can use to advance our own demands. If this victory can be won in the States, why not in Canada?

This victory underlines the importance of building a broad movement to protest Canada's abortion laws and makes the abortion campaign all the more timely. It gives us added opportunities to mobilize support for the campaign, to put increased pressure on the Trudeau administration to meet our call for free abortions on demand. It demonstrates concretely the potential power of women when we unite in common action and thereby holds an important lesson for the women's liberation movement.

It is through struggles of this type, for our basic human rights, that many women will come to understand not only the deep social and economic oppression they suffer, but also the power we have when we unite together in struggle.

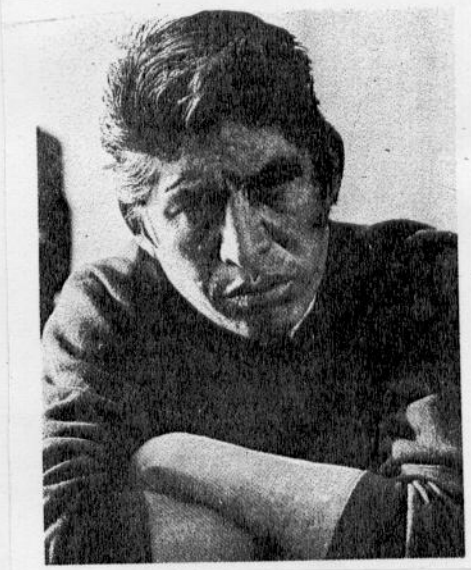
The burden of unplanned, unwanted pregnancies has been a key factor in perpetuating the exploitation of women, in discouraging and preventing them from realizing their full potential as human beings.

We demand the Trudeau government end its mass murder and maiming of Canadian women! For the immediate repeal of the abortion laws! Free abortions on demand!

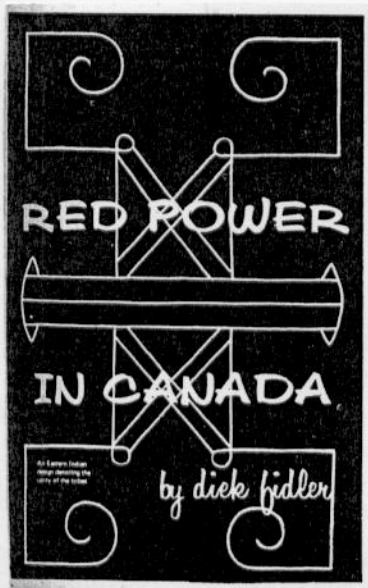
labor Challenge #6 Apr 1970

Canada's 'New Indians'

The struggle for sovereignty



THE UNJUST SOCIETY, THE TRAGEDY OF CANADA'S INDIANS, by Harold Cardinal. M.G. Hurtig Ltd., Edmonton, 1969. 171 pp. $2.75.



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Lenin on nationalism and the party

by Joe Young

(From Labor Challenge – April 20, 1970)

April 22, 1970, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, will be commemorated around the world, in diverse ways. In the capitalist countries, leading commentators striving to counteract his growing influence among rebel youth will make lengthy presentations of Lenin as the evil genius of modern "totalitarianism". In Moscow and Peking he will be feted with pomp and pageantry foreign to his simple, unpresumptuous manner, and with vapid orations that hide any trace of the revolutionary dynamic of his thought.

But who was the real Lenin? What is his significance for today?

Organizer of the Russian Bolshevik party, and its main leader until his death, chief organizer together with Trotsky of the Russian revolution of October 1917, head of the soviet workers state until 1923, and founder of the Communist International which, while he lived, carried the liberatory message of socialist revolution to the peoples of the world — Lenin was above all a man of revolutionary action.

It is rather among the Soviet oppositionists struggling today for a return to the workers democracy of the early Soviet republic, in the celebrations of the revolutionary socialist currents now growing in the West, among the heroic revolutionary people of Vietnam where the ideas and continuing importance of Lenin to today's revolutionary world will be truly reflected.

Hardly a country today is untouched by the struggles of nationally and racially oppressed peoples, represented best for us by the movement of French Canadians to free themselves from English-Canadian and U.S. domination. So Lenin's teachings on the national question, where he made the major contribution to Marxist theory, have assumed particular urgency.

Marx and Engels expected the socialist revolution to come first in the advanced capitalist countries, which would then lead in the emancipation of the colonial peoples. They did not foresee that, with the delay of the revolution in the West and the development of imperialism, the pattern of national liberation struggles they analyzed in Ireland and Poland would spread around the world.

Under modern imperialism the national question flared up with increased force as the colonies were plundered because of capitalism's insatiable drive for higher profits. Imperialism utilized national and racial oppression to suck super-profits out of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and even peoples within its borders—the Irish, the Blacks of the U.S., the French of Canada.

This was the reality Lenin analyzed so precisely. He stood unconditionally for the right of nations to self-determination: "Whoever does not recognize and champion equality of nations and languages, and does not fight against all national oppression or inequality, is not a Marxist; he is not even a democrat."

A thoroughgoing internationalist, a fighter against imperialist war and every form of national chauvinism, he believed the integration of nations could only come about "through a transitional period of the complete emancipation of all oppressed nations, i.e., their freedom to secede." In taking this radical view Lenin stood against almost all the currents of the left of his time; the Russian Revolution soon proved the correctness of his view.

When, in the last months of his active life, Lenin initiated his struggle against the growing bureaucracy headed by Stalin; it was the heavy-handed national chauvinism of Stalin's regime that he chose as his chief target. Infuriated by Stalin's efforts to obliterate the national autonomy of Georgia and discipline its communist leaders, he pledged them his support, denouncing the "connivance" of Stalin, and called on Leon Trotsky "to undertake the defense of the Georgian affair at the Central Committee of the Party." If Lenin's premature death cut short this struggle, it has now been renewed by the socialist opposition among oppressed nationalities of the USSR such as the Crimean Tartars and the Ukrainians.

Lenin projected the need for the working class to ally with the peasantry and other class forces in the fight for national self-determination. But he made it clear that the workers' party must maintain complete organizational and political independence and struggle for the leadership of the national movement.

While the native bourgeoisie might have differences with imperialism, they had neither the economic strength nor the desire to defeat it. Thus, as Lenin outlined to the second congress of the Communist International, the national liberation movements have to look to socialism for victory over world imperialism. This signified his mature acceptance of the theory of permanent revolution — the accomplishments of the tasks of the "bourgeois" democratic revolution through socialist victory — first advanced by Trotsky in 1905.

The social-democratic parties of Lenin's day were as dominated as the North American labor mvement is today by the theoretical concepts of reformism — that revolution was an idle dream, and gradual parliamentary reform the road to a better society. Together with Trotsky, Luxemburg, Liebknecht, and others of the socialist left wing, Lenin fought for a revolutionary strategy, through which the working class would take power, destroy the old oppressive state machinery and expropriate the capitalists.

But he understood that taking power in the face of a well-armed, highly organized and conscious ruling class required more than simply rushing into the streets arms in hand. "The art of politics. . ." he said, "lies in correctly gauging the conditions and moment when the vanguard of the proletariat can seize power."

From this he deduced the need for vanguard revolutionary parties on the model of the Bolsheviks, the party he built and led to victory in Russia. To overthrow capitalism, workers needed a theory to enable them to understand it, and a leadership schooled in this theory which would act at the decisive moment — in short, a disciplined and united combat party for the revolution.

Lenin polemicized against the "economists," those who felt, somewhat like modern day "spontaneists," that the simple economic struggles of the workers were sufficient for their emancipation. In *What Is To Be Done* he pointed out that workers would never arrive at a socialist consciousness from purely economic struggles. A revolutionary party was necessary which could co-ordinate the struggles of all oppressed layers and lift them onto the level of a struggle for political power.

"Subservience to the spontaneous role of the labor movement," he said, "the belittling of the role of the 'conscious element,' of the role of Social Democracy, means, whether one likes it or or not, the growth of influence of bourgeois ideology among the workers."

He polemicized against the Menshevik wing of Russian socialism which, like the present-day Communist party and the leaders of the NDP, projected basic social reform within the capitalist framework and denied that socialist revolution was on the agenda. He refuted their views that a loose party organization without obligations for either the members or leaders to carry out the party program could be an instrument for socialist victory.

A loosely formed party without discipline would never be able to give a clear direction to the workers. It would be completely paralyzed by internal conflicts and a "do your own thing" spirit. A combat party demanding loyalty from its members to its democratically worked out program would give clear, quick leadership when needed while retaining full freedom of discussion among the members.

Bourgeois commentators often claim Lenin viewed his party as an elite acting on behalf of the workers. The charge is taken seriously by many student youth today, who attempt to build "Leninist" movements which, in true elitist fashion abstain from involvement in the existing mass organizations and day-to-day mass struggles of the working class.

In fact Lenin emphasized that the vanguard party had to be deeply rooted among the masses of the people, involving itself in their unions and their political organizations no matter how backward their programs. The party could lead the revolution, but it would be carried out and the new state would be constructed not by any elite but by the conscious efforts of the working masses.

It was ironic that James Eayrs, writing on Lenin in the *Toronto Star* threw at him once more Trotsky's youthful charge that Lenin's party would evolve into a one-man dictatorship. The critical statements of Trotsky's political maturity only lend greater weight to his later considered conviction that Lenin's view was totally correct. As Lenin remarked in November 1917, "Trotsky long ago said that unification (with non-Bolsheviks) is impossible. Trotsky understood this, and from that time there has been no better Bolshevik."

Lenin warned in his political testament that Trotsky's non-Bolshevik youth should not be held against him — even less should it be held by modern commentators as evidence against Lenin himself!

The Bolshevik party proved in action the correctness of Lenin's view, and the Russian October revolution provides the model for advanced capitalist countries like our own when they take the road of revolution.

The Moscow bureaucrats who build the cult of Lenin as infallible demigod do so to establish their own infallibility as his presumed heirs, and elevate his critical genius out-of-reach of today's youth. Lenin is not a fount of finished knowledge. His polemics, his contribution must be understood in the light of the struggles of his day, and his own theoretical evolution over the years.

Lenin is a foremost figure in the ongoing movement of Marxist thought and action. His key contributions — and we have discussed only two aspects here — provide an indispensable foundation and critical tool for the socialist movement growing in strength around the world.

We commemorate the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth with a profound sense of admiration for his achievements which were not the achievements of an individual genius but rather of a foremost representative of the class which will emancipate all humanity from capitalism – the working class.

labor Challenge #6 Apr. 1970

Continue antiwar protests Fourth International urges

The following appeal was issued March 9 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky.

The Fourth International has been in the forefront of the international campaign to defend the Vietnamese revolution. In many countries, including the United States and Canada, its supporters have long been recognized as leaders in building and maintaining the antiwar movement. The success of this movement, and its continued growth in the months ahead, depends on strict adherence to the principles consistently defended by the Trotskyists — calling for the building of a broad, mass united front movement against the war based on the program of immediate unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

* * *

It has been five years since U.S. imperialism massively escalated its military intervention in Vietnam to save its tottering client regime in Saigon from the revolutionary wave about to engulf it. The purpose of Washington's aggression has been and remains to crush the national liberation struggle in South Vietnam and Southeast Asia as a whole, preserving an enclave there for world imperialism; to weaken the workers state in North Vietnam in preparation for rolling back the revolution there if possible; to contain and threaten the Chinese revolution; and to set an "example" to demoralize revolutionary forces everywhere. The war is part and parcel of imperialism's overall counterrevolutionary drive to contain the world revolution and reverse it if that should appear feasible.

But imperialism didn't reckon with the power of resistance of the Vietnamese people, who have prevented the victory of the most powerful military machine on earth through tremendous sacrifice and heroic effort. The revelations concerning the massacre at Songmy only lifted the corner on the horror of the war that Washington has unleashed on the Vietnamese. Only the rich and corrupt support and are supported by the imperialists, with the result that the war is necessarily aimed at the vast majority of Vietnamese — the workers, peasants, and the poor. It is a war against a whole people, with women and babies being machine-gunned, old men being thrown into wells with grenades tossed in after them — not to mention the regular, mechanized terror of the systematic bombings, the uprooting of hundreds of thousands of people, the mass destruction of crops and forests to such an extent that scientists speculate that the very ecology of Vietnam has been seriously damaged for a long time to come. The resistance of the Vietnamese people can only be called heroic. Their struggle has provided a revolutionary counterthrust against imperialism's offensive on an international scale, giving inspiration to a new generation of revolutionary youth throughout the world and — most important — for the development of a massive antiwar movement inside the USA itself.

The power of the resistance put up by the Vietnamese, coupled with the development of a growing antiwar movement in the United States, forced Washington to make a tactical shift. Johnson abdicated, the bombing of North Vietnam was halted, the Paris talks began, and token withdrawals of U.S. forces were made. Nixon made hints that he had a "plan" to end the war. All this was intended to lull antiwar forces inside the United States and around the world with the idea that the war was soon coming to an end, while Washington used the time so gained to continue and even escalate the war.

The planes formerly used in the bombing of North Vietnam are now used in stepped-up bombing of the South. Nixon revealed that his "plan" was for the "Vietnamization" of the war, a semantic hoax designed to cover up his real strategy of a prolonged war. Washington hopes this will eventually force the Vietnamese to accept a Korean-type "settlement." And, far from beginning the process of withdrawal, U.S. imperialism has widened the scope of the war internationally, first to Thailand and Laos, and possibly soon to Cambodia.

The level of bombing in Laos, now admittedly much more extensive than bombing of supply lines, has reached 20,000 sorties a month, the level of the previous bombing of North Vietnam. The U.S. has trained a "loyal" army in Laos under General Vang Pao, which early this year forcibly evacuated most of the 150,000 civilians living on the Plaine des Jarres. When revolutionary forces smashed these puppet troops and drove them off the Plaine on February 21, the U.S. sent in all seventy-five of the B-52 bombers belonging to the Strategic Air Command in a futile attempt to aid the Vang Pao forces.

The American antiwar movement has been in the forefront in exposing Nixon's phony "peace" maneuvers and in remobilizing masses in action against the war. Last October 15 saw demonstrations in every city and many towns across the United States. And on November 15 there was a militant demonstration of 800,000 in Washington and 250,000 in San Francisco, the greatest demonstration in the history of the United States. The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and other antiwar groups have called for new actions against the war April 15-18 in the United States.

The Fourth International appeals to all revolutionary working-class and youth militants not to be taken in by the imperialists' smoke screen, to understand that the counterrevolutionary aggression continues and that the Vietnam war remains a key pivot of the international class struggle. The Fourth International calls on all workers organizations, the students and youth, all who support the right of Vietnamese self-determination and all who are fighting for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution to demonstrate their solidarity with the Vietnamese people and with the antiwar movement in the U.S. in massive struggles this spring.

Black Power shakes Trinidad

See page 3

The myth of male 'superiority'
-a socialist reply to Dr. Spock
page 5

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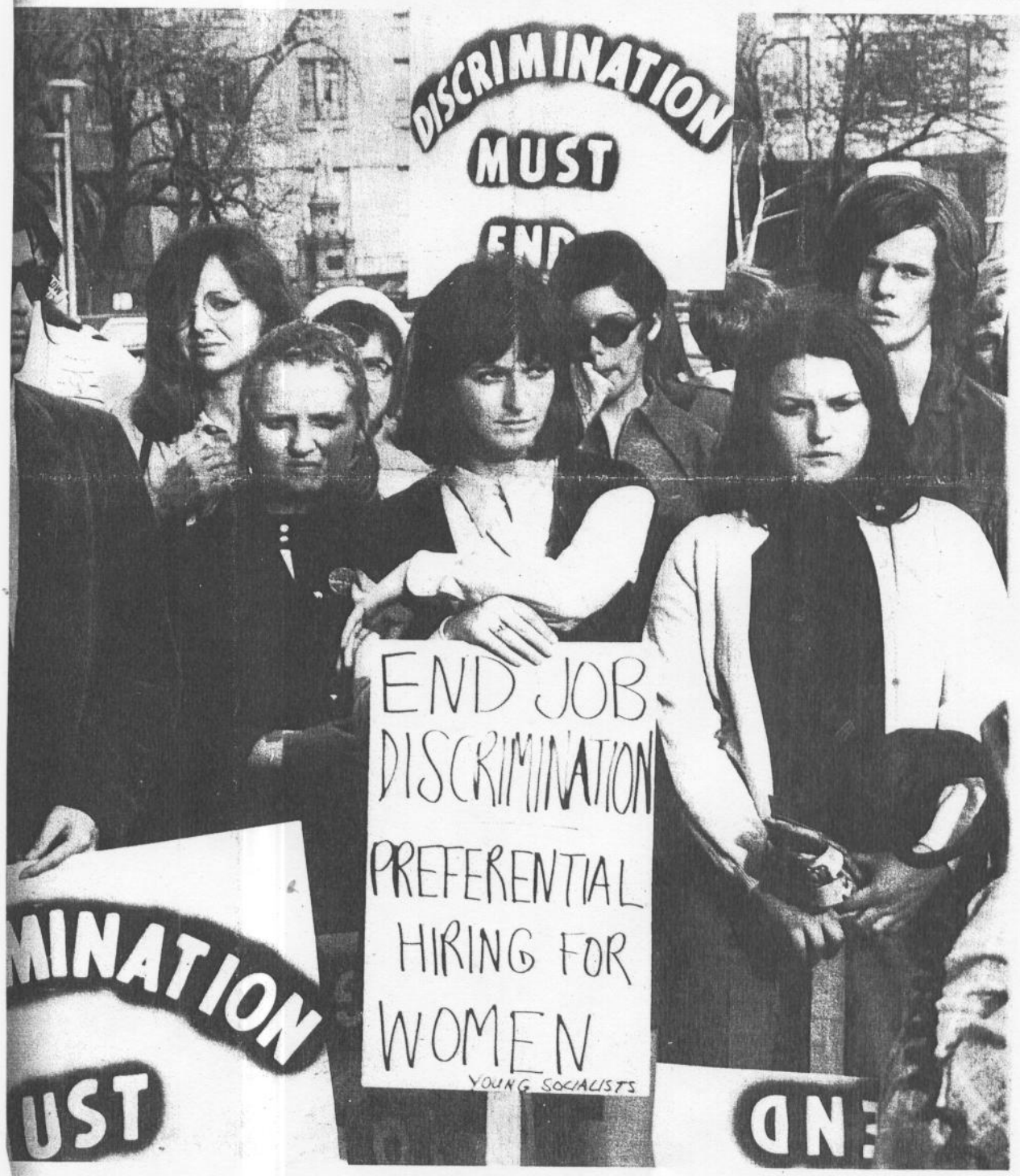

photo by White

About 300 women and a few men supporters marched on Queen's Park, Toronto, to demonstrate support for an NDP motion to amend the Ontario Human Rights Code to eliminate discrimination on the basis of sex. The April 28 rally was sponsored by the Women's Committee, Local 222 (Oshawa), United Auto Workers. Also participating were the NDP Women's Liberation, the New Feminists, the Women's Liberation Group, the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action.

labor Challenge #7 May 1970

Exemplary campaign by Quebec socialists

MONTREAL, April 26 — As the Quebec election enters its final stages, the campaign of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere stands out as an example of how revolutionary socialists utilize elections to publicize and popularize their views. Manon Léger, the 22-year-old candidate of the LSO in Dorion riding, has broken through the customary blackout of the daily press and mass media on several occasions, and her program, which points to independent labor political action through formation of a mass trade union-based labor party as the road to Quebec's national and social liberation, has been widely circulated.

The LSO's call for a labor party has posed its campaign in sharp conflict with every other tendency in the left, including most of the labor leadership, who have capitulated to the much-publicized upsurge of support for the Parti Quebecois, a bourgeois nationalist party. Their reaction to the LSO's principled stand was expressed in the April 12 issue of the trade union weekly, Quebec-Presse, which carried a vicious attack on Manon Leger's campaign by steelworkers leader Emile Boudreau. (See excerpts on this page) Leger's reply was carried the following week.

La Presse, the biggest French-language daily in Quebec, has also singled out the LSO candidate's position on labor political action as particularly noteworthy. However, the press blacked-out any reports of NDP leader Roland Morin's endorseation of the LSO campaign.

The LSO campaign is unique in other ways, too. Manon Léger, an activist in the women's liberation movement, is the only candidate to support the program of the movement, for free abortion and birth control, free day care, equal pay for equal work, writing women back into history, etc. The bourgeois press has ignored the Leger campaign in its coverage of women candidates (and candidates' wives!); but the mass circulation women's magazine Chatelaine, has interviewed her for its May issue.

The LSO is the only political movement contesting the election that supports French unilingualism as an important step toward returning control over Quebec industry to the Québecois workers. (While the capitalist parties and the NDP speak of "priority" for French as "the language of work," all of them, including the Parti Quebecois, support the longstanding privileged status of English and the English school system.) Manon Léger and other LSO leaders intervened effectively at a special election strategy meeting of the Front du Quebec Français, a broad united front grouping which led the struggle against pro-English Bill 63 last fall. The meeting declined to pass a motion from PQ supporters urging the FQF to endorse the PQ, because of the PQ's opposition to unilingualism.

Manon Léger is also the only candidate to make opposition to the Vietnam war and the Quebec and Ottawa government's complicity in the war an issue in the campaign. She was a featured speaker at the April 18 antiwar demonstration in Montreal.

In addition to these interventions, the socialist campaign has reached thousands of working class voters in east-central Montreal, with the distribution door-to-door in Dorion of over 1,500 copies of the special election issue of La Lutte Ouvriere. Hundreds of posters have been pasted up throughout the riding.

On Sunday night, April 26, the Forum Socialiste moved from its usual address at 226 Ste-Catherine E., and held a successful campaign in Dorion itself, featuring Leger as speaker.

On all counts, the Dorion campaign has been one of the most successful actions yet undertaken by revolutionary socialists in Quebec.

labor Challenge #7 May 1970

Leger debates Steel union

The LSO campaign has embarrassed many trade union leaders and "socialists" who were previously identified with independent labor political action in Quebec.

One of them, Steel staffer Emile Boudreau, the former secretary of the short-lived Parti Socialiste du Quebec, attacked Manon Léger in the columns of Québec-Presse, the mass-circulation trade union-sponsored weekly (April 12). Boudreau's remarks, entitled "Faut-il contester la contestation?" (Must we contest contestation?), were largey devoted to a vague attack on "small groups of activists" (unnamed) in the left who, he claimed, were intentionally sabotaging the "real movement of contestation."

The concluding part of his article, where he scandalously singles out Manon Léger as one of these "saboteuses," is reproduced below. The "broad regroupment" advocated by Boudreau and company has nothing in common with a labor party controlled by and responsible to the trade unions; rather, it is oriented around the amorphous citizens committees (RAP) formed in the struggles against urban renewal schemes and the like. Boudreau, like much of the labor leadership, has been involved during the elections in building support in the unions for the Parti Québécois.

Following Boudreau's attack is the reply of Manon Léger which appeared in the same space in the April 19 issue of Québec-Presse, under the title Manon Leger replies to Emile Boudreau.

Emile Boudreau

Boudreau's attack

. . .I lived through the experience of the PSQ (Parti Socialiste du Québec). I saw it destroyed from within by small groupings, which abused us because we weren't going fast enough and which, I would swear to it now, were prepared to do anything to destroy the party. . .and who succeeded. I am now participating in the regroupment of broad forces comprising the Teachers union, the CNTU, the QFL, RAP (Regroupement des Associations Populaires), etc. From the beginning I have seen there the same elements with the same tactics . . .and probably the same aims. They don't want real broadly-based political action committees. It's much more "fun" in cellars.

Someone told me recently that among those who claim to be Maoists, there are three types of individuals: imbeciles, fanatics and POLICE. Heavens, we must ask ourselves if it isn't the third category which possesses the majority . . .To see them in action, you get the clear impression that under the cloak of "activists" they are in fact extinguishers of the *real* revolution.

When Manon Leger says we must immediately form a labor party even before having begun to make the political action committees function at the level of the popular movements; when certain "workers" papers tell me that "things are going to swing in the streets" or that "the Quebec workers are ready for the (armed) revolution," I'm sorry, but like our illustrious federal prime minister (who stole this expression from others, as he stole the $200 million from Quebec) I say: Crap. . .

Emile Boudreau

Leger's reply

Naturally, I do not like to be called an ultraleftist saboteuse of the left and even a possible police agent. Yet that is clearly the impression you gave of me in your article last week. To reply to those charges would be to take them seriously. Let's deal rather with a more fundamental point in your article.

The labor movement presently faces a deplorable situation. The workers, 85 percent of the nation, are deprived of a political voice in the present battle for political power. Once again one of the bosses' parties will be elected, and will continue their antilabor policies; once again they will attack our living standards in order to guarantee bigger profits for the corporations. The labor movement cannot seriously fight the boss parties. The NDP cannot run more than about fifteen candidates. The PQ does not speak for the workers.

Brother Boudreau, you seem to think that it is the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the small socialist organization that I represent, that is responsible for this situation. The LSO advocates a workers and farmers government based on common ownership of the means of production and ruling in the interests of the vast majority of the population, the workers and farmers. For several years the LSO has declared and still holds that the trade union movement must take the road of direct political action, in order to be able to gain power. This requires a political instrument, the mass labor party and a socialist program.

The establishment of the labor party does not depend on movements like the LSO, but rather on the big trade union federations. We call for a big interunion conference to establish this party and its program, a conference in which all the left movements would participate.

But the trade union leadership refuses to undertake a serious political action, at least on the provincial plane. This is nothing less than a betrayal of their responsibility toward the membership they claim to represent and toward all Quebecois.

Can we consider the PQ as a substitute to the labor party? Of course not. It is not a party of the working class, it is tightly controlled by the middle classes. It is an electoral machine which seeks to drag the workers behind the petty-bourgeoisie, telling them to suppress their class interests until later. Its "independence" of

→page 2

union leader

#7 May 1970 labor Challenge

Page 2

Manon Leger

Quebec would in no way benefit the workers, for the PQ wants to keep the same bosses who dominate the nation.

The pro-PQ politics of the Emiles Boudreaus and the newspaper Quebec-Presse are among the major obstacles to the advance of the workers struggle because they are opposed to an independent political voice for the Quebec workers.

In this election, my position is clear: I call for a government of the workers and farmers, I struggle for the establishment of a mass labor party with a socialist program. I represent the workers' alternative in Dorion. At the same time I support the NDP candidates, because I consider that the entry of the NDP into Quebec politics indicates the path for the whole labor movement, towards independent working class political action. The disagreements of the LSO, a revolutionary-socialist organization, with the reformist and federalist program of the NDP are well known. But in the absence of any other workers alternative, conscious workers should vote NDP.

No Brother Boudreau, it is not contestation that must be contested, but the system. And to do that, we need, not the PQ, but the mass socialist labor party.

Manon Leger,
candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere in Dorion.

advertisement

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Wide support for abortion caravan

by Joan Newbigging

The campaign for the immediate repeal of the abortion laws is underway in centers across Canada. The abortion caravan, a cavalcade of cars travelling across the country to publicize the campaign, is slated to leave Vancouver on April 28.

In Toronto the Abortion Caravan has been set up to organize and coordinate activities around the campaign. It is made up of representatives from the three women's liberation groups in the Toronto area, the NDP Women's Liberation Movement, the New Feminists and the Women's Liberation Movement. Organizers say they are open to all organizations which wish to participate in the campaign.

This committee is organizing an open meeting on the evening of Thursday May 7 at Trinity Square, and is sending busloads of women to participate in a rally on Parliament Hill, Ottawa on May 9. Both actions will call for the immediate repeal of the abortion laws and for free abortions on demand.

This first united activity of the Toronto women's liberation movement has been marred by a motion pushed through by the Women's Liberation Movement group to exclude the Young Socialists from participating in the coalition, not because the YS is a multi-issue organization, or any such reason, but because, the WLM group claims, it "is unable to work with the YS." This unprincipled action is cause for concern; it sets the dangerous precedent that one group in a coalition can arrogate to itself the authority to exclude other groups with whom it has political disagreements.

Despite this unfortunate incident, the campaign to build the Toronto actions is underway with the perspective of involving as many women as possible.

#7 May 1970

labor Challenge

Must pass Provincial Council

Vancouver NDP votes to run in municipal elections

by Gary Porter

VANCOUVER — A sparsely attended municipal convention of the Vancouver New Democratic Party held on April 18-19 voted by 54 to 6 to enter party candidates in the December civic elections, and to draw up a municipal NDP program for that purpose.

The delegates also voted to "begin discussions with COPE (Committee of Progressive Electors) immediately for cooperation in a slate and program for the 1970 civic election." This motion was hotly debated and finally passed by a 38 to 18 majority.

The convention only began the work of developing a municipal program. Some of the key points adopted include a call for the construction of at least 2500 public housing units a year to be operated under tenant control, the creation of a rental control board and the establishment of free 24-hour-a-day neighborhood child-care and education centers.

In a move to build the area council into a functioning wing of the party the conference voted to hold three plenary sessions each year in addition to the annual convention. In a plenary session all NDP members in the city of Vancouver have full right to speak and vote on all matters. The decision to enter the civic election was further bolstered by the election of an executive which overwhelmingly supports this policy.

The next major hurdle to a municipal slate will be the NDP provincial council, which has the power to ratify or reject the area convention decision. The Barrett wing of the provincial leadership, centered around the old CCF antilabor elements, have carried a line of opposition to NDP entry into the Vancouver elections. Ignoring the possibilities for developing both membership and financial strength, they say they don't want resources "diverted" from their own re-election.

The B.C. Federation of Labor leadership and figures like Wally Ross, provincial NDP secretary, on the other hand, have indicated support for NDP municipal action in recent months.

The area convention's decision to run a slate of NDP candidates is a setback to the anti-NDP forces leading COPE, whose continued existence is placed in jeopardy with even a partial NDP entry. But COPE, supported by the Stalinist-influenced executive of the Vancouver Labor Council, together with their liberal hangers-on, continues to be a negative factor. Illusions about the strength and "progressive" character of COPE help to explain the unwillingness among a majority of conference delegates to support a full NDP slate.

Neither the provincial NDP nor B.C. Fed leaderships are friendly to COPE. But while the municipal convention's desire to seek a rapprochement with COPE may be used by the Barrett element to sabotage the whole idea of a civic slate, the BCFL leaders themselves, who do not seek a confrontation with the Vancouver Labor Council leaders on this question, have not gone out of their way to push for a full slate.

The next provincial council meeting and the Vancouver NDP nominating convention for municipal candidates in June will provide the opportunities for New Democrats and BCFL forces to carry through the challenge posed by the NDP civic entry — for a full and independent NDP slate to build the party and pose a serious challenge by labor to capitalist control in city hall.

labor Challenge #7 May 1970

Bourassa stumped by free abortion demand

by Phil Courneyeur

MONTREAL — "Someone has finally managed to stump Robert Bourassa during one of those question periods he has at the end of most of his political rallies.

"Penny Simpson, a 24-year-old militant member of the Front de Libération des Femmes, last night caught the Liberal leader off guard with a barrage of questions about the equality of women."

This is how the Montreal Star reported a confrontation between a Women's Liberation representative and the Liberal party leader at its April 16 rally in Montreal.

"And she had the audience . . .gasping in disbelief when she asked in French if a Liberal government would provide women with free abortion."

The question left Bourassa gasping as well. All he could do was to insist that "abortion is a federal issue."

Simpson had also demanded to know the Liberal position on the demand "equal pay for equal work." Bourassa assured his audience that this was "in the program of the Liberal party."

Outside the rally supporters of the FLF picketed the building with signs demanding "free abortions on demand," "equal pay for equal work," "no free nation without liberated women," etc.

The two liberation groups also confronted the Union Nationale rally April 15.

Plans are now going ahead for Montreal participation in the Abortion Caravan to Ottawa.

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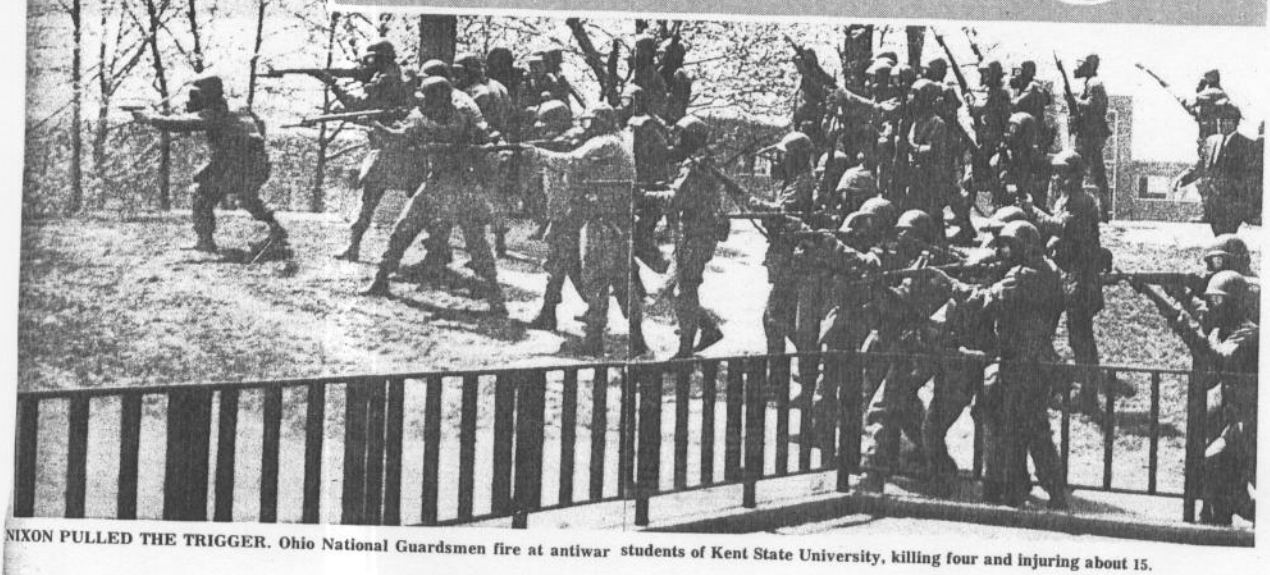


NIXON PULLED THE TRIGGER. Ohio National Guardsmen fire at antiwar students of Kent State University, killing four and injuring about 15.

Student strike sweeps U.S.

MAY 12 — Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia, and the massacre at Kent State University, have provoked massive antiwar actions throughout the U.S., and demonstrations in Canada and around the world.

Within hours of the brutal, unprovoked shooting of Kent students by National Guardsmen, hundreds of campuses, most of them already experiencing mass demonstrations against the U.S. aggression in Indochina, were struck by students. Classes ceased on virtually every campus in the United States, and most are still shut down. The mass demonstrations reached a peak in Washington May 9, where over 100,000 rallied outside the White House.

The Student Mobilization Committee in Washington announced May 7 that the campus strike has reached "proportions unprecedented in the country's history."

"On a growing number of campuses," the SMC states, "the strike has advanced from 'shut down' to 'open it up' as the antiwar university. Campus facilities have begun passing into the hands of the campus community — students, faculty members and campus workers. They are using these facilities as centers from which to organize and mobilize in effective action this daily mounting antiwar sentiment of the population as a whole. This is a revitalization of the colleges and the beginning of their reconstruction in accordance with the proclaimed humanistic goals of higher education."

The Berkeley campus of the University of California is one of those antiwar campuses. A special issue of the U.S. socialist weekly The Militant — the second in a week — reports that a mass rally there May 6 of 15,000 students, faculty and employees adopted a seven-point program of action seeking "to reconstitute the university as a center for organizing against the war in Southeast Asia." Correspondents Alan Wald and Jean Savage report:

"University facilities have been used by the students and faculty for several days to organize the massive antiwar sentiment of all sections of the population in this area. Rather than a strike against the university, the university community has taken over the university facilities to use them to fulfil the needs of that community. . . The student government offices at Berkeley have become a statewide and, to some degree, national strike center for the current protest."

Writing in the same issue of The Militant, Susan Lamont, national secretary of the Young Socialist notes that the students who have assumed control of university facilities "have taken two essential steps to win over the overwhelming majority of the students and faculty to establish and maintain the antiwar university: They have held mass meetings which discuss and decide the policies to be followed; they have elected as the leadership a united strike committee broader than any single campus organization can be."

The perspective, Lamont notes, is one of reaching out into the off-campus communities to mobilize new forces against the war.

Significantly, some sections of organized labor are beginning to respond. The national convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees — eighth largest union in the AFL-CIO, passed a resolution May 7 urging "immediate and total withdrawal of all United States armed forces from Southeast Asia."

Repeated solidarity actions were held throughout the week of the Kent shootings in cities across Canada — up to 500 in Vancouver and Montreal, 300 in Hamilton, 300 in Ottawa, 200 in London, close to 100 in Winnipeg. The biggest was in Toronto, where largely spontaneous demonstrations outside the U.S. consulate during the week culminated in a mass rally of between 5 and 8,000 May 9.

Carole Oleniuk, executive secretary of the Vietnam Action Committee in Vancouver, summed up the general thrust of the Canadian protests, when she told a May 6 rally at the U.S. consulate: "The murder of the Kent Four is an attack on us all. The best solidarity that can be expressed is for us to continue in the streets. As long as Nixon continues to widen the war, and as long as the Canadian government supports this policy, we'll be in the streets protesting."

The antiwar movement in the U.S. and Canada is now preparing to make the next major demonstrations, May 30, the biggest and most effective mobilization ever for immediate, total withdrawal from Indochina.

Bosses' assault on B.C. labor

by Gary Porter

VANCOUVER, May 9 — With increasing boldness the bosses across British Columbia are working to push labor's back against the wall. The well organized boss assault is directed primarily by their anti-labor fronts — the Employers Council of B.C., Forest Industrial Relations (FIR) and the Construction Labor Relations Association (CLRA) which bargains for 600 of the province's biggest contractors.

Their attack is backed by Trudeau's campaign to increase unemployment and by the notoriously antilabor Social Credit government in B.C. armed with its slave labor Bill 33.

The CLRA has locked out 30,000 construction workers with 40,000 more expected to follow through lockout, layoffs, or by honoring picket lines that exist at some jobsites. Now 1,200 tugboat masters, mates and engineers have been forced to strike in support of demands for basic safety conditions.

The tug strike affects the waterfront, the wood industry, truck and rail transport and construction, all of which rely to some extent on water transportation.

The lumber bosses are not even waiting until their present supplies run out to begin layoffs of woodworkers on the coast and on Vancouver Island. The Rayonier Co. shoved "fair" boxcars aside for "hot" boxcars, provoking pulp workers to walk off the job in solidarity with the towboat workers, but without even unemployment insurance coverage. Weldwood achieved the same result by arbitrarily changing agreed upon hours of work for International Woodworkers of America workers at its Kent St. plant. The lumber bosses are attempting to use scab tugs operated by supervisory staff and to use "hot" barges and logs. Hundreds have already walked off or been laid off.

Negotiations between the IWA and FIR remain stymied over FIR's refusal to bargain as long as Ray Haynes, secretary of the B.C. Federation of Labor and Pat O'Neal of the Pulp, Sulphite and Papermill workers remain as part of the IWA negotiating team. FIR, of course, includes whatever personnel it wishes on its own negotiating team. At the same time FIR members have harassed the Pulp and IWA union with a constant barrage of injunctions and lawsuits.

Meanwhile, some three to four thousand Vancouver postal workers are headed for almost certain strike action following the most recent paltry offer by federal government negotiators of 41 cents over 2-1/ 2 years.

In all, some 1,000 contracts expire this year in B.C. with the major ones expiring before June 14, the date when the IWA (biggest union in B.C.) master agreement ends. If the present boss drive continues as expected, there could soon be well over 100,000 B.C. workers on the streets and every major sector of the B.C. economy either shut down or sharply curtailed.

Finance Minister Benson threw down the gauntlet for the Trudeau government when he said in his March budget speech that "wages and salaries in particular are still rising at quite unacceptable rates." F.G. Peskett, president of the Employers' Council of B.C., carried this further in a recent speech entitled 1970 - A Year of Crisis.

"Labor's exorbitant and unreasonable demands must be resisted with utmost strength and determination — they can no longer be tolerated."

Peskett bemoaned the undermining effect of inflation on the competitive position of B.C.'s highly export oriented economy. Although the obvious way to remain competitive is to cut into already bloated profits, Peskett urged an attack on wages and working conditions.

To do this the bosses want stiffer controls and penalties written into contracts to hogtie unions to contract terms and to violations of those terms by the boss. They want 'no strike during the contract' class peace clauses and rigid policing of them. By this means they hope to win a freer hand to introduce new work rules, hours changes, speedup and job-cutting technological changes without fear of union resistance. Continuous violation of contract terms and agreed-upon work practices by the wood barons has resulted in over 70 walkouts by IWA workers during the life of the current two-year contract.

The record of the labor leadership has been one of steady retreat since compulsory arbitration Bill 33 became law. Instead of mounting a massive campaign to smash Bill 33 they have tread a thin line, trying to get just enough to take the edge off rank and file dissatisfaction but not demanding so much that a big struggle

(See page 8)

labor Challenge

#8 May 1970

8,000 in Toronto protest; VMC builds for May 30

TORONTO, May 10 — Close to 8,000 people, many of them students shocked by the tragic death of the four Kent University students, demonstrated their opposition to U.S. aggression in Indochina before the U.S. consulate here May 9.

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee had called the action for 5 o'clock, but so spontaneous was the reaction that several hundreds were demonstrating before that time.

"This is the chief significance of what happened at and around the U.S. consulate on Saturday — the deep, profound and mounting indignation of citizens of Toronto against the war in Southeast Asia. The 91 arrests carried out by the police, and a few explosions of violence should not in any way hide this significant fact," the VMC stated in a press release today.

"The VMC organized its march to terminate at the Court House across the street from the U.S. consulate. After a series of speeches, the VMC organized a mass picket line on the east side of University Avenue, which ended after an hour with another rally. George Addison, executive secretary of the VMC told the assembly to carry the antiwar struggle forward by organizing in the schools and in the community, and not to be provoked by police or any provocateurs in the ranks.

"It was obvious well before 5 o'clock, when the great bulk of the protestors arrived, that there were possibilities of a confrontation. However, the police, instead of taking action to permit a peaceful protest, took actions which tended to lead to the few explosive incidents. The police refused permission for the VMC to have a public address system for the rally, leaving the organizers no opportunity to speak to the whole crowd, and draw it together for effective action. Furthermore, the police harassed and provoked demonstrators, finally using horses to clear the area at about 6:30 p.m. If the police had allowed a sound system, and had closed University Avenue to traffic, the violence, arrests and minor damage, about which so much is being made, could have been averted.

"The VMC spokesmen repeatedly warned demonstrators not to be provoked by the police. They also called on people to build and broaden the antiwar movement by carrying actions into Toronto schools, into the factories, challenging City Council to declare a day of mourning for the Kent students, and building for a mass demonstration of antiwar feeling May 30."

High schoolers spearhead actions

Antiwar protests are spreading through Toronto-area high schools. These actions take on particular importance in the student milieu because the universities are now closed for the summer.

Students Against the War in Vietnam (SAWV) sponsored a successful campaign on May 8 in 25 high schools asking students to take action against the war and the Kent State murders by wearing black armbands, staging noon-hour rallies, asking for a minute of silence in commemoration of the four dead students in Ohio, and using the public address system for discussions. In some schools, students are petitioning for the right to hold Vietnam assemblies.

A proposal by SAWV to the board of education in York Borough on May 11 resulted in the board voting to urge all principals to hold Vietnam Assemblies. The North York board of education is now considering a similar request from SAWV, which made a presentation at a recent meeting after its representatives had been ejected at a previous meeting.

Students are protesting "a situation where students can be tear gassed, wounded and even killed merely for expressing their opposition to government policies. And they will be protesting a situation where the Canadian government by its continued support of U.S. aggression in effect condones this kind of massacre," states Martin Shulman, 17, president of SAWV.

labor Challenge #8 May 1970

LSO pointed way to free, French, socialist Quebec

by Phil Courneyeur

MONTREAL — The impact of the revolutionary socialist campaign in the April 29 election cannot be measured only by the 133 votes officially accorded Manon Léger, the candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière in Dorion riding.

Thanks to a number of bold and principled interventions, the LSO received its biggest hearing throughout Quebec since its founding in 1964. A good way to measure the full significance of this campaign is to contrast it with the conduct of other working class formations.

A large section of the trade union leadership capitulated openly to the wave of popular support for the Parti Québécois. So did virtually the entire student movement. Other labor leaders continued their policy of "neutrality" in hopes of enhancing their possibilities of maneuvering with whatever capitalist party was elected.

The New Democratic Party's entry into Quebec politics was severely limited from the start by the defection of the trade unions and its own blatant federalist program, which it presented as its main distinction from the PQ. The 4,500 votes it received in 14 ridings represented only two-tenths of one percent of the vote and were almost entirely from English-speaking voters.

The various ultraleft tendencies also capitulated to the widespread illusions about the PQ and electoral action. Speaking to the Forum Socialiste at the beginning of the campaign, Charles Gagnon of the Front de Libération Québécois (FLQ) vehemently denounced all electoral activity as "a waste of time." The Front de Libération Populaire (FLP) through spokesman Stanley Gray, similarly argued for boycotting the election, and called for a mass street demonstration just before the election to expose "the electoral farce."

But before the campaign was over, the FLP had cancelled its demonstration for lack of support and Gagnon announced that if he had a vote (he didn't get out of Bordeaux prison in time to be registered) he would vote for the PQ. Both tendencies made it clear they now regarded the PQ as a step forward — and neither had any visible impact in the election.

The Communist party limited its efforts to a token campaign in St-Louis riding where it ran a candidate against the NDP.

The LSO campaign in Dorion, designed to popularize the need for a mass labor party, alone pointed the way ahead for Quebec labor towards a free, French and socialist Quebec.

PQ gains reflect national ferment

By Arthur Young

(from Labor Challenge, May 1970)

MONTREAL — The election of a majority Liberal government headed by Robert Bourassa has sent the Canadian ruling class and its spokesmen into fits of glee.

The *(Toronto) Globe and Mail* exulted the next day: "Today this feels like a splendid country." Prime Minister Trudeau hailed the end to blackmailing" (by the Quebec government) and the victory for Canadian unity.

Certainly, the Liberals have scored a big victory on the parliamentary plane, winning 72 seats in the 108-member National Assembly.

But Canada's rulers have little real reason to rejoice. The Quebec elections showed, in a distorted form, the tremendous pent-up discontent and anger of the Quebec masses, closely linked with a rising national consciousness and desire for national freedom. They also demonstrated in a striking fashion that the Québécois are prepared to strike out on new paths and try out new political programs and parties in place of the traditional ones.

The governing Union Nationale was crushed almost beyond repair. Its 55 seats were slashed to a mere 17. Its percentage of the popular vote was cut in half by an irate electorate. It was wiped out of the urban areas almost entirely and confined to some marginal rural areas. Cabinet ministers went down like bowling pins. This was the worst defeat in the party's 34- year history, and could even spell its disappearance.

The wave of popular discontent flowed towards the new political formations, the Parti Québécois and the Creditistes. The extreme right wing, petty bourgeois Creditistes, as expected, displayed most of their strength in certain rural areas, and in the Abitibi mining region. With little money or organization they capitalized on popular discontent to elect 12 candidates. They were favored by the electoral system, with its crass favoritism for the rural, sparsely-populated ridings. Their relatively small popular vote resulted in a big parliamentary delegation.

The big loser in this respect was the Parti Québécois. It won 23% of the popular vote, more than half of the Liberal total. But this resulted in only seven seats, less than one-tenth of the number of Liberal seats. The top three leaders of the PQ — Lévesque, Parizeau and Gregoire — were all defeated. The PQ came second in popular vote but will have fewer seats than any of the other three parties.

The fact that 23% of the Québécois voted for the PQ is the most notable feature of the elections. This is the first time that a party demanding a separate, sovereign Quebec state has received a substantial portion of votes. In 1966, the independentist parties got only nine percent of the vote.

The PQ built on popular feeling by carefully presenting a program which seemed to meet the sentiments of the masses of Québécois who are fed up with unemployment, rotten wages, a growing housing crisis, progressive elimination of the French language in their own nation, and domination by foreign corporations and the Ottawa government which backs them. It succeeded impressively. It got significant support in both urban and rural Quebec, in all corners of the province, and from different social layers: students, workers, and the middle class. Not surprisingly, its strongest showing was in the urban French areas.

In Montreal, the PQ took not the more middle-class seats it was expecting to gain, but the most working-class ridings. Several figures show the strength of the PQ support. The English minority voted massively for the Liberal Party. Thus the PQ averaged 30% of the votes cast by French Québécois. In ridings in the French half of Montreal, the PQ got 40% or higher. This was where it took six of its seven seats.

During the election campaign, the PQ put on a high-powered, highly professional effort. While retaining its image as a a “populist" party based on the masses, it was able to compete with the major bourgeois parties in their own fields, and in some respects even surpass them. Its campaign funds (more than $400,000) were substantial and supplemented by a veritable army of volunteer workers handling the door-to-door intensive campaign effort

In the absence of any serious labor alternative, the Parti Québécois corralled the support of both the student movement and the organized labor movement. The labor brass, refusing to break with bourgeois politics, came out almost without exception for the PQ *(in the absence of a viable NDP-Québec wing or Quebec-based labor party substitute – ed.)* This contributed substantially to the PQ's ability to pass itself off as the party of all the Québécois.

This desertion of the labor brass left the NDP high and dry, without any base of support. Its organization was reduced to a shell, capable of presenting only 14 candidates in the whole province. The NDP leadership compounded this terrible situation by projecting no perspective of serious struggle against the other parties, candidly avowing that the NDP didn't even hope to elect a single candidate. They set themselves against the rising militant nationalist mood of Quebec by their stand in favor of federalism and bilingualism. It was no surprise, then, that almost nobody viewed the NDP as a serious alternative, and that its candidates got a total of 4,500 votes, not even one percent of the total.

To meet the multiple crises of Quebec society and the growing popular discontent, René Lévesque and the PQ proposed "The Solution," as they entitled their program — that is, a sovereign Quebec. Here was the answer, they claimed, to the constant constitutional wrangles, to the Ottawa-Quebec fight over $200 million, to the spending of Québécois tax dollars on the Canadian army, to the declining status of the French language and culture. A sovereign Quebec would mobilise all $6 billion of Quebec tax monies and avoid the duplication and inefficiency of two levels of government.

The Québécois, like all "normal" people, Lévesque repeated everywhere, need their own country. This is what the PQ stands for. But at the same time, for economic reasons, this sovereign Quebec would link itself to English Canada through a common market arrangement.

The PQ proposed an elaborate series of reforms which, it claims, a sovereign Quebec would carry through. The state would intervene in the economy to set economic priorities; the minimum wage would go up to $2 an hour; there would be tax reforms; the state would "favor"trade unionism; there would be full medicare; French would become the working language; immigrants would have to learn French (the English, however, would keep their English-language schools); there would be an efficient, democratic system of government; Quebec would withdraw from NATO and NORAD; it would be represented at the United Nations, etc.

The PQ certainly benefited greatly from its ability to pose as the only alternative to the "old parties," so deeply discredited by their past policies. But demagogy and promises of reforms if elected are the stock-in-trade of the bourgeois parties. Only the PQ stand for Quebec sovereignty distinguished it fundamentally from the Liberals and the Union Nationale.

Not that the PQ proposed a program that could actually bring about the national liberation of Quebec. It stood for continuing, if not deepening Quebec's dependance on the foreign monopolies which now completely dominate the nation and block any attempt at national self-determination. The PQ proposed that the form, and not the reality, of this oppression should be changed, so that instead of ruling through two levels of government, foreign capital would rule through a "sovereign" national state.

The common market it proposes with English Canada would maintain the facility with which English Canadian capital now enters Quebec and withdraws its profits.

Throughout the campaign the PQ sought to prove that it was not out to attack capitalism or threaten its privileges in Quebec.

Its campaign newspaper, *Pouvoir ('Power'),* claimed: "It is in Canada's interest to maintain its harmonious relations with Quebec. Of course some Canadian businessmen will let their emotions overrule their own interests, but surely not for long, otherwise their American competitors will quickly move to replace them in the Quebec market. As for the Americans, they are not interested in Quebec's political status. Their companies have learned to develop under an extraordinary variety of different political regimes. What they want, in the first place and above all other things, is the possibility of finding a 'valid spokesman', that is, a strong government, which knows what it wants, and a clear and stable situation, rather than the current disorder and instability."

This and subsequent issues of the paper pointed with pride to statements by leading foreign capitalists that they did not care what kind of regime the Québécois chose, as long as it allowed them to continue their profit-gouging of the nation.

As for the alleged "radicalism" of the PQ, René Lévesque explained that quite the contrary, the party was an assurance against "anarchy," because it calmed directed the energies of revolutionary- minded workers and youth into safe channels.

The big vote for the PQ was due not to its moderation, however, but to the fact that it, more than any other major party in the campaign, voiced the dissatisfaction and anger of the Québécois at their current status. The strong showing for the Creditistes *(right-wing nationalists –ed.)* , and the virtual smashing of the ruling Union Nationale *(traditional clerical-bourgeois nationalists –ed.)* reflect the same process. Of all the parties, the PQ benefited most. because the social and national discontent are profoundly fused together.

The PQ vote represents an electoral breakthrough for nationalism. The RIN *(left-wing 'Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale,' soon absorbed into the PQ without a trace, under the leadership of the charismatic Pierre Bourgault) –ed.*
vote in 1966 came nowhere near the PQ total of 1970. Even more important, the strongest PQ showing was among the decisive sector of the Quebec working class, in south-east Montreal. This confirms the rising tide of national consciousness which has been visible for several years and which has broken out in many forms, as in the October 1969 fight against Bill 63, and the struggles in the unions for French unilingualism.

The capitalist press and many politicians have sought to dismiss this powerful nationalist rise by holding that the PQ vote was basically a protest against unemployment, housing, taxes, etc. This is wishful thinking on their part, denying what is becoming more and more clear to Quebecois: that these conditions are closely tied up with Quebec's national oppression.

To what degree can we say that the PQ showing indicates a mass desire for a separate, sovereign Quebec state? This was certainly the central PQ demand, and those who voted for the party could hardly be unaware of it. or be strongly opposed to it. If some federalist-minded persons voted PQ, how many 'indépendantistes' voted for the other parties? These are important questions which will be examined in subsequent issues of *Labor Challenge*.

Whatever the wishes of the Parti Québécois, the election of a few PQers to the National Assembly is not going to calm down militant struggles in Quebec.

In the past it has denounced such struggles as fanatical and irresponsible. As a major party now, similar denunciations will be more remarked and cost the party dearly.

Inevitably the PQ must unmask itself, compelling the labor movement to move to the fore in the struggle for political power. And, as the current elections have shown, the Québécois will not be too charitable towards parties which have cruelly betrayed their trust.

==========CAPTION====(start BOX)=========

SOLIDARITY – Plumbers parade with banners in Montreal May Day march of 5,000 workers organized by trade unions. Dominant slogan: Le Québec aux Travailleurs (Quebec to the workers). Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière banner in background calls for a labor party in Quebec.

==========(end box)==========

labor Challenge

End backstreet butchery, angry women demand

March for right to abortio

by Jacquie Henderson #8 May 1970
and Joan Campana

For the first time in history, the House of Commons was adjourned abruptly May 11 in the middle of its proceedings. The adjournment was the government's only reply to the organized intervention of women in the galleries demanding the government act immediately to provide free abortions on demand to all Canadian women.

The action in the house culminated three days of demonstrations involving over 600 women in Ottawa and hundreds more in local demonstrations held across the country.

The Ottawa action, the largest demonstration held by and for women ever to be staged in Canada, united women's liberation supporters from across Canada. Busloads of women and some men supporters from Montreal and Toronto joined carloads of women from Halifax, Kingston, London and other centers. The abortion caravan carrying the symbolic coffins for those women who have died from illegal abortions brought women from B.C., Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

The women came to demand that the government eliminate section 237 of the Criminal Code, which makes it a crime to seek or perform an abortion, and grant immediately free abortion to all Canadian women upon request.

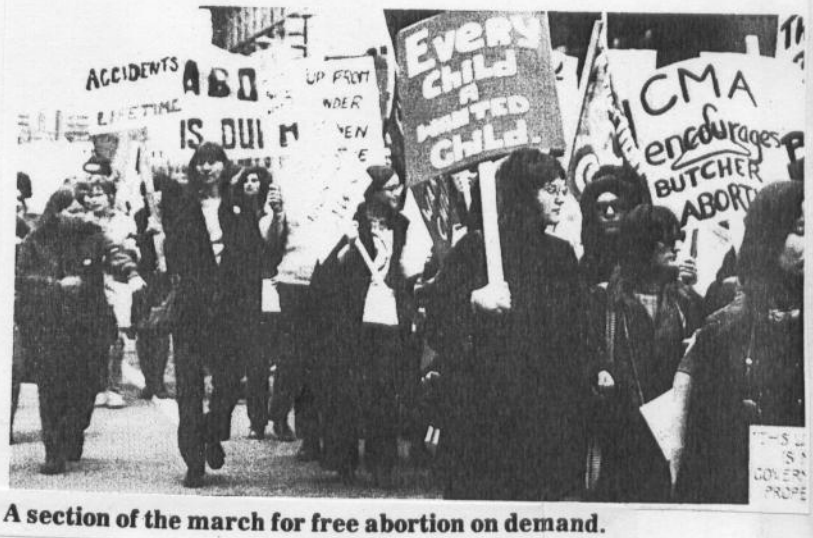
A brief addressed to the Trudeau cabinet, noted that each year about 2,000 women die and as many as 40,000 enter hospitals injured or maimed as a result of illegal abortions.

Despite recent "reforms," all but the richest women are forced to endanger their lives, when abortion could be performed in a safe, simple operation in a hospital.

Saturday morning, the women marched through Ottawa streets chanting "Free abortion on demand," "Free abortion is our right," and "Every child a wanted child, every mother a willing mother." As they marched, they urged observers to join them. Some did.

After a rally on Parliament Hill, they crowded into the Railway Committee Room to present the brief. Among the speakers were Doris Power of the Just Society group, herself eight months pregnant, who told how she had tried in vain to get a legal abortion under the present laws. Dr. Henry Morgentaler of Montreal said that only one out of 1,000 women who want legal abortions is granted it under the law. New Democratic Party MP Grace MacInnis expressed solidarity with the group and said the party would continue to fight on the abortion issue.

But no representative of the government showed up, despite invitations to every Liberal MP as well as the prime minister, Health Minister Munro and Justice Minister Turner. So the women marched to Trudeau's official residence to present their demands. A coffin was placed on his doorstep, topped with the tools of illegal abortion, the tools of death, to emphasize Trudeau's complicity in the murder of Canadian women.



A section of the march for free abortion on demand.

But the PM left for Hawaii without meeting the women. Munro left for a conference in Vienna where he was met by 50 women urging him to go home to meet his responsibility. As for Turner, he refused to meet the women, ridiculing them in a press interview.

So the women took parliamentary democracy seriously and about 30 entered the House of Commons, while 60 others filed slowly around the eternal flame outside, wearing black kerchiefs of mourning and carrying a coffin.

NDP MP Andrew Brewin asked if the government intended to find remedies for the large number of "back-alley abortions." Turner replied callously that the government was "reviewing statistics."

Towards the end of the question period, a woman stood up from the gallery and began to make a speech about the need to change the abortion laws. When the guards moved in to remove her, a woman on the other side of the house stood up and called for free abortion on demand, continuing where the first had left off. As the guards silenced her a third stood. This continued until the 30 women inside were removed and the house adjourned. The guards had difficulty removing the women because they had chained themselves to their seats, but they quickly silenced them, shoving hands over their mouths and twisting arms.

Once outside the women joined the others in a symbolic burning of section 237 of the Criminal Code.

Demonstrations were also held in Montreal, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Hamilton and other cities. The series of actions represent a big step forward for the women's liberation movement across Canada. It was a united action involving women from across the country, and encompassing many different groups including women's liberation groups and those such as the Just Society, the Humanist Society, the Young Socialists, the League for Socialist Action and the New Democratic Party. It eliminated the narrowness of some past women's liberation actions.

The struggle is only beginning. As the women stated in Ottawa — the government had better respond because we are furious. We have waited long enough for control of our own bodies.

One woman voiced the sentiments of all as she shouted, while being ejected from the House of Commons: "You may be putting us out of the gallery but you haven't seen the last of us yet. We are solid and we have the women of the country behind us."

photo by White

labor Challenge #8 May 1970

Banff parley debates NDP-Waffle ties

by Gary Porter

BANFF, Alta. — Over 70 supporters of the NDP left wing, the "Waffle" group, from B.C., Alberta and Saskatchewan, met here April 25-6 to hammer out policy for the cross-Canada Waffle conference to be held in Toronto this summer.

One major topic of debate concerned the Waffle group's relationship to the NDP.

In his opening speech, Jim Laxer announced that the housekeeping committee is launching a major campaign to stop Trudeau's sellout of Canada's natural resources to the U.S. The conference endorsed the proposal but questions were asked about efforts to involve the whole NDP.

The relationship of the Waffle forces to the NDP was raised more sharply when Bret Smiley, a leading B.C. Waffle spokesman, warned that it might not be long before the Waffle group would have to abandon its orientation of winning the NDP to socialism. He pointed to the failure of efforts to transform European social democratic parties, and after listing the different elements that compose the bureaucratic and reformist NDP leadership he characterized the entire party as "an unholy alliance." Smiley speaks as well for a wing in the B.C. Waffle which stands against labor affiliation to the NDP on the basis that the bureaucratic labor leadership only acts as a brake on socialist development in the NDP.

In reply, several participants pointed out the fallacy of seeing only the present reformist leadership and program and failing to see the party's membership — 90,000 with an additional 280,000 affiliated trade unionists and a voting base of over a million — as evidence of how firmly rooted the party is in the Canadian working class.

Bob Holoch, editor of the Alberta Waffle Newsletter and Gary Porter of Labor Challenge noted that the NDP more or less reflects the present level of consciousness of the working class, and is in fact in advance of the thinking of many workers who still vote for the traditional capitalist parties. Other speakers pointed out how affiliation of unions to the party opens channels for socialists to reach broad layers of workers with their program.

The final statement adopted by the plenary by a large majority characterizes the Waffle group as "a caucus within the NDP." The resolution recommends that Waffle steering committee positions and voting be reserved to NDP members and further urges that the Waffle group strive "wherever possible to use proper party channels" and that when independent action is taken, it "must not be in conflict with party program, and must not go against party discipline."

The labor workshop recommended a stepped up campaign to affiliate trade union locals to the NDP, support for the CLC reform caucus, and a program which included a sliding scale of wages and hours to fight inflation and unemployment, the opening of corporate books to workers, NDP trade union campaigns against antilabor legislation, campaigns to organize the unorganized and the unemployed and a vastly stepped up political education program in affiliated unions.

The conference adopted the statement on Quebec in the original Waffle manifesto and added a statement which spoke of the necessity to build a socialist and working class leadership in Quebec.

The conference also adopted demands on education, pollution and a program for agriculture. A report from the women's liberation workshop characterized their discussion as fruitful but introductory. Committees were struck off to draft complete working papers on areas where the plenary agreed. These will be circulated across Canada and will be submitted to the Waffle conference this summer.

labor Challenge

#8 May 1970

Student walkout supports Ottawa teachers' demands

by Ian Angus

OTTAWA, May 10 — Massive student support, including sit-downs, walkouts and the threat of a city-wide student strike, in support of high school teachers' demands, has forced the Ottawa board of education to reopen contract negotiations with the teachers.

The board broke off negotiations two weeks ago when teachers refused to accept a 4.3% salary increase above the 4% annual increment. The teachers are seeking a 9% increase above the increment, improved student-teacher ratios, and changes in the board's hiring policies.

On Monday May 4, the teachers launched a work-to-rule protest in support of their demands. Despite attempts by the board and the press to portray this as an attack on students, protests by students across the city showed support for the teachers' demands, and support for the work-to-rule protest as a legitimate means of forcing the board to negotiate.

Meeting Tuesday, the Central Student Council, made up of student council presidents and vice-presidents from 34 area schools, demanded that the board reopen negotiations, and called a special strategy meeting to plan student actions. Wednesday morning a series of spontaneous student protests hit the schools. Over 1000 students at Sir Wilfred Laurier High School staged a sit-down in the halls. Students at a number of schools held student-run assemblies at which teachers explained the issues involved.

The most powerful action was by students at André Laurendeau High School, a largely French school in Vanier City, which is under the Ottawa board. Some 500 students refused to enter the school at 9:00 a.m. After a brief debate with the principal, they marched over three miles through city streets to the board of education offices, carrying placards reading "If Teachers Can't Strike, We Will," "Negotiate Now!" and "Students Support Teachers." The marchers changed football cheers into pro-teacher chants, but the commonest chant was "Down with the School Board!"

After demonstrating at the board offices, they marched to Ottawa Technical High School. For over an hour they stood outside chanting "Walk Out." About 100 of the Laurendeau students entered the building to talk to the Tech students in their classes, but were forced out by police and administrators. The school doors were locked to keep the Tech students in, but the school's windows remained jammed with students shouting slogans and giving the "V" sign.

The Central Student Council strategy meeting that evening sent a sharply-worded telegram to the board of education, warning that if negotiations were not resumed immediately, a city-wide student strike would take place Friday.

Within hours the board, faced with the prospect of losing thousands of dollars in provincial grant money which is allocated on a number of students per day basis, gave in. Their new offer, now being negotiated, has not been made public, but it is reported to be "substantially higher" than the one rejected two weeks ago.

labor Challenge #8 May 1970

Man. NDP vs. big business

by Dennis Lomas

WINNIPEG — A major confrontation between big business and Manitoba's New Democratic Party government is shaping up over the issue of automobile insurance. The government of Premier Ed Schreyer is standing firm on its pledge to provide Manitoba with a universal publicly owned auto insurance plan. When its proposed bill becomes law, the monopoly-dominated auto insurance industry will lose the entire Manitoba market.

The government is meeting stiff opposition from the insurance companies which have launched a campaign against the plan, using all the resources they can muster.

They are having difficulty convincing people. The plan will be cheaper because the premiums will not go to finance international monopolies. It will be more beneficial to the public because the "no fault" stipulation will give immediate compensation to injured passengers. And it will serve the people of Manitoba because profits will go into the government's treasury rather than the revenues of big businessmen.

The insurance companies claim the NDP government is curtailing "freedom of choice" — as if they offered any "choice" between their highly pegged premiums. They are using the news media, the insurance agents, and the Conservative and Liberal opposition in the legislature to discredit the government plan.

On May 3, about 7,000 people — insurance agents and their families — assembled in front of the legislature to protest the bill. The news media has given large play to the opposition's speeches in the house. And the newspapers have supported the opposition on their editorial pages.

As usual, the big business opposition parties have not considered slander and red-baiting beneath their parliamentary dignity. Tory leader Walter Weir said "If I ever saw a more dictatorial request for power in my life, it's that bill. . ." He claimed in the legislature that the NDP policies result from its "fatal weakness", that is, "a strong and militant corps of radical reds and unhealthy pinks".

The insurance companies with their friends in parliament and the news media are trying to deny the mandate given to the NDP to implement its policies. This was the June 25, 1969 Manitoba election. The government could hardly back down on the auto insurance issue, since it has been in the NDP-CCF program for decades. A similar program was established by Saskatchewan's CCF government — with widely recognized success.

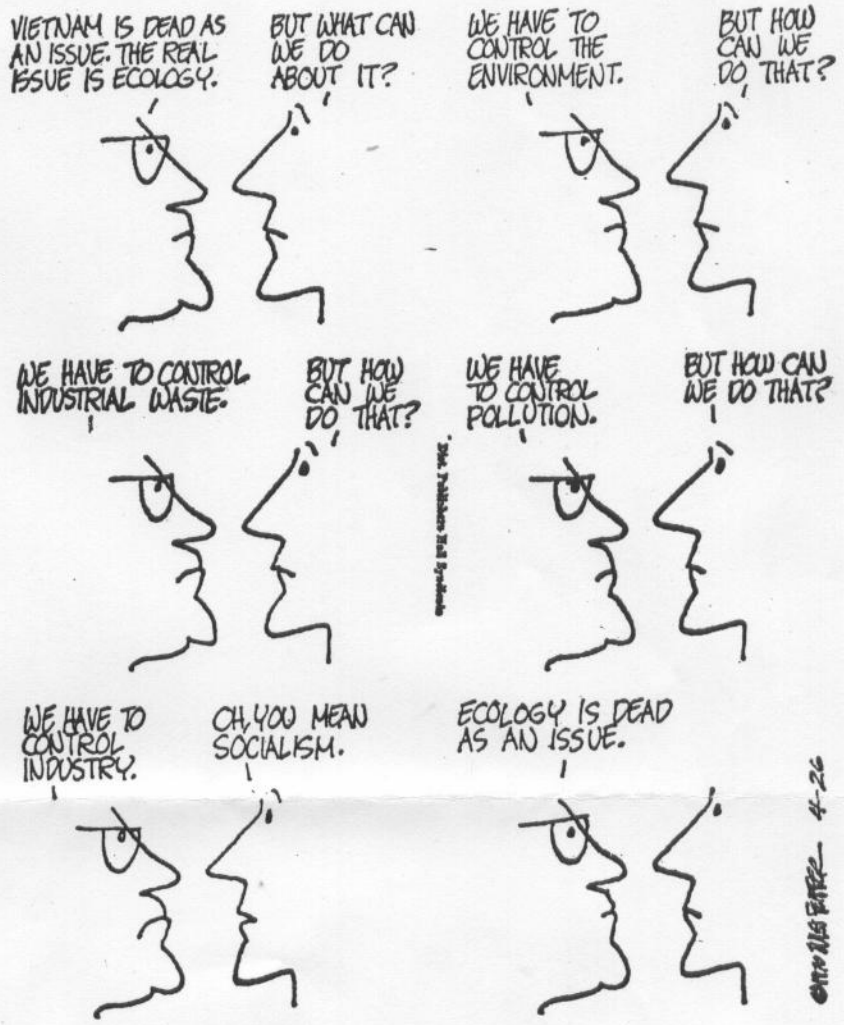
The NDP has responded to the attack from big business by attacking the lies and slanders of the insurance companies and taking the issue directly to the people.

The NDP is mobilizing its constituency organizations for the campaign. Meetings are now being held throughout Manitoba.

A committee called Citizens For Public Auto Insurance has been formed. A pamphlet called "Public Auto Insurance: It's a Matter of Dollars. . .And Sense!" is being distributed widely.

The main battle is being fought outside of parliament. A door-to-door campaign is underway. Large public meetings and rallies are planned.

The vigorous campaign should be welcomed by all Canadians. It is a direct confrontation between a large section of monopoly capitalism and the NDP government. It is also a confrontation between private and nationalized industry. The same arguments that apply to the necessity for public auto insurance can apply to other industries — beginning, for instance, with life insurance. The case can be easily made for nationalization of the farm implement industry.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BUT HOW CAN WE DO THAT?
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WE HAVE TO CONTROL POLLUTION.
BUT HOW CAN WE DO THAT?
WE HAVE TO CONTROL INDUSTRY.
OH, YOU MEAN SOCIALISM.
ECOLOGY IS DEAD AS AN ISSUE.

labor Challenge

#8

Editor: JOHN RIDDELL

Business Manager: JOHN WILSON

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Socialist press fund

May Day rallies held to support Labor Challenge

by Joan Newbigging
Cross-Country fund drive director

There's a new radicalism and activism developing in Canada which is presenting new challenges and opportunities to socialists and which is making the Labor Challenge an increasingly important instrument in the struggle for socialism in this country. This was the main theme of May Day celebrations which our friends and supporters across the country organized to build support for the Labor Challenge fund drive.

Manon Leger, candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière in the recent Quebec elections, was the featured speaker at celebrations in Vancouver, Edmonton and Winnipeg. At the May 1st Vancouver banquet, a hearty appeal for funds netted a collection of over $200.

Over 100 people attended the Toronto May Day rally which featured a dramatic reading on the pioneer American labor militant Joe Hill and a speech by Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action. Joan Newbigging, acting organizer of the Toronto branch, League for Socialist Action, spoke at May Day celebrations in Hamilton and Waterloo, and Ross Dowson addressed a May 2 meeting in Ottawa.

Now that May Day, the wind-up date for the drive, is past, we had hoped that we would be in a position to give you a final round-up picture of the fund drive.

However, our supporters across the country have been busy building the demonstrations to protest the invasion of Cambodia and the murder of the students in Kent, Ohio. They haven't been able to make the final effort to bring the fund drive to a close.

With money still coming in and some pledges still to be paid up, we're about $1,000 short of our goal of $14,500. We're confident that with the next issue, we'll have all the money in and will be all set to publish a more exciting and effective Labor Challenge in the coming year.

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Eyewitness reports of police

These eyewitness accounts of the police murders in Augusta, Ga. and Jackson, Miss. are excerpted from the extensive reports by Randy Furst appearing in the May 26 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly, The Militant. Furst, formerly a top movement reporter with the radical weekly The Guardian, joined the Militant staff recently shortly after joining the Young Socialist Alliance.

AUGUSTA

HE ONLY MADE PAGE 5

The obviously calculated attempt to give as little publicity as possible to the Augusta massacre was indicated by the way the New York Post (New York's liberal mass daily) handled the story. The very first edition came out with a front page banner headline announcing the killings, but subsequent editions moved the story back to page 5. In response students put out this poster.

by Randy Furst

AUGUSTA, Ga., May 15—Six Black men are dead, gunned down by police. Dozens more are wounded. Fifteen hundred troops continue to patrol the streets. A tense calm has fallen over this city of 70,000, 49 percent of whom are Black, following the indiscriminate murders by police Monday night, May 11, and Tuesday morning, May 12.

"They came in with M-14s, and they came in to shoot to kill. That's how it was," says a 23-year-old Black freshman at Paine College.

A coroner's report says that all six men murdered here were shot in the back.

Eyewitnesses told me they saw police shoot into crowds of Black school children—without warning.

The murders were systematic. Police gunfire continued steadily for more than six hours. Some policemen say that part of the time they were responding to sniper fire. None of the six murdered men were carrying weapons, however. And no policeman or guardsman had been wounded.

"It appears that the police had all the good marksmen," says Ralph Stone cynically. Stone is the news director of WRDW, Augusta's Black ra-

saulted. An autopsy report said t Oatman died when he fell out of b and landed on his head. The sheri office said he also had been beaten two Black inmates.

Daniels, the hospital attendant, di agrees. "They say he fell out of be but you can't get that many cuts an bruises from falling out of a bun I don't think he was beaten by i mates. If he was beaten in the c some of the guards would have ha to hear them hit the kid. If you' being beaten and burned, you' gonna make some kind of noise."

Daniels, and most young Blacks i Augusta, think that Oatman was mu dered by prison personnel.

Sunday night, 700 to 800 person massed in front of the county jail i downtown Augusta. "The people want ed an explanation," says Stone. "The then went over to Tabernacle Bap tist Church and heard many moderat Black leaders speak, as well as th more militant. From there they dis persed and said they would meet th next afternoon about two o'clock i front of the Municipal Building."

When demonstrators showed up a the building the following afternoon there were some 20 cops lined up. Many of the police were carrying shotguns.

Some at the rally told Sheriff Atkins to get the policemen with the shotguns off the street.

"The way they say it, certain Black people incited the riot," Russell said. "I don't think Black people incited this riot; I think the police incited this riot by even appearing at the Municipal Building with shotguns."

Nearly 1,000 students regrouped at Paine College out in front of the student center shortly before 6 p.m. About half the students at the rally were Paine College students and the other half were elementary and high school students, Charles Staff, a chemistry student, relates.

"I left the school, and went out with he people, and I was walking across he railroad down on Wrightsboro Road, and there were little kids, and he police started opening fire. Little kids. The police started shooting into he crowd. Something like 200 little kids and some adults and students from Paine. People split and I think that's when the crowd really went wild."

How many police were there?

"Five, armed with shotguns and rifles. There was no warning that they were going to shoot, no order to disperse or anything. They just opened up and started firing. I was in the crowd. I saw the police aiming into the crowd."

Webster saw police cars drive up, with two policemen in one, and one policeman in the other. "The policemen got out of the car," he says, "aimed a shotgun into the crowd and said, 'Okay, put your hands up.' There was a young man standing in the crowd, he looked about 14 or 15, he put both his hands over his head and took one step forward, and they just shot him. They hit him in the leg, and he fell. And they grabbed him by one arm and a leg and snatched him and threw him in the back seat of the car. Like some kind of piece of meat. And they drove away."

See page 9

Socialist candidate hits cops' murder of Blacks

ALBANY, Ga., May 16 — Today at a statewide conference of the Georgia Associated Press, Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia, challenged six other candidates to state their opposition to the police murder of six Black men in Augusta, Ga.

"I hold the police and city officials in Augusta and the state officials responsible for these murders. I call for the amnesty of all of those who have been arrested. I further call for the formation of a committee of inquiry made up of individuals and organizations from the Black communities around Georgia to investigate the situation in Augusta. This committee should be independent of state governments, of city governments and the police force. It would be criminal if the other candidates don't address themselves to the question of these murders here today."

She went on to say, "I don't believe the FBI or Justice Department or police investigation is sufficient. It is necessary for the Black community to conduct its own investigation because Black people have the greatest stake in obtaining the truth."

Linda Jenness

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Workers rally to demand for independence

AT ST-LEONARD IN 1968, thousands of students and young workers demonstrated in solidarity with students who had barricaded themselves in school to support demands for all-French school system. Sign at right reads "Quebec — Our Only Native Land!" St-Leonard was first of many mass actions calling for a unilingual Quebec.

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→ p. 2
(See rest text)

WORKERS RALLY TO DEMAND FOR INDEPENDENCE

by Arthur Young

(From Labor Challenge June 1970)

MONTREAL — How nationalist is the Quebec working class? More precisely, can and will the demand for a politically sovereign State of Quebec play a key role in mobilizing the Québécois workers, and leading them forward in the developing anticapitalist struggle?

These questions, long the subject of some debate in the left, have come sharply into focus in recent months, with the upsurge of nationalist struggles, particularly around the defense of the French language. And now the results of the April 29 elections, which confirmed the depth of nationalist feeling and the growing support for the independentist movement, go a long way toward posing some answers.

After a fashion, these elections constituted a referendum, in which between one-third and one-half of French-speaking Québécois — and an even higher proportion of workers — voted for an independent Quebec.

The Parti Québécois got 23% of the vote. This represents 30% of the votes of French-speaking Québécois. To this nationalist, independentist vote must be added a sizeable proportion of the Union Nationale's 20%; the UN ran on a program of "independence not now, but perhaps in four years."

Even more important, the PQ vote was strongest in the working-class sectors of east Montreal, where it took six of its seven seats. In these ridings, it got about 40% of the vote. Among the French-speaking residents of these 15 ridings, its vote proportion was around 50%. That is, one-half of the decisive sector of Quebec society — the Montreal French working-class — voted independentist.

This constitutes a remarkable shift in sentiment. In 1966, about one voter in ten supported the separatist Rassemblement pour 1'Indépendance Nationale (RIN). A comparison between an opinion survey by the noted pollster Peter Regenstreif in April, 1970 and a similar survey he took exactly one year earlier indicates a sharp increase in support over the year for the PQ among skilled and unskilled workers,along with a considerable decline in PQ support among the middle layers of professional and managerial elements.

During the campaign, the working class and the students mobilized in large numbers behind the PQ bandwagon. The PQ meetings regularly attracted thousands of people; on the eve of the election the party held simultaneous rallies across the province that drew a total of 75,000 people.

Thousands of volunteers came forward to work for the PQ during the elections. Despite its bourgeois program, the PQ gave the illusion of a truly people's party, based on the exploited sectors of the Quebec population.

How nationalist was the PQ vote?

Despite its bourgeois reformist demagogy, the Parti Québécois was distinguished fundamentally in this election by its stand for a Quebec sovereign state. Other parties promised reforms, not least of all the Liberals; but they all attacked the PQ for its sovereignty program. And the PQ emphasized that to get the reforms it was promising, sovereignty was the pre-condition. No one could vote PQ and be strongly opposed to Quebec independence.

The English minority was stampeded by the scare campaign over "separatism"; it also saw this election as a referendum, and voted almost 100% for the Liberal party, the one clearly pro-federalist party *(the arch-federalist Quebec branch of the Conservative Party not being a factor in Quebec – ed.)*

Regenstreif's findings, published in the *Toronto Star* and (Montreal) *Le Devoir,* indicate that 35% of the Québécois wanted an independent Quebec state (which would retain economic ties with English-Canada) while 53% were opposed. But this poll included the English Québécois, solidly lined up against independence. Among French Québécois Regenstreif found that opinion was almost evenly divided: 40% for, and 45% opposed. He found that about half the Union Nationale voters were for independence.

This powerful evidence of a qualitative change in the thinking of Québécois workers, coming on top of the massive mobilizations over the language question in the last two years, indicates that the Quebec struggle is entering a new stage, one with great revolutionary possibilities. Socialists must adjust their demands accordingly.

Marxists, basing themselves on Lenin's, profound studies of the national question, have defended the right of all nations to self-determination. We see the struggle of oppressed nations as a historically progressive one, which strikes hammer blows at imperialist world domination. This view has been repeatedly confirmed by the course of world events, most strikingly since the end of the Second World War and the rise of the colonial revolution.

In its most simple form, the right of self-determination is the right to separate from the dominant, oppressing nation.

But this does not mean that Marxists automatically advocate the separation of any given nation. Such a question must be settled in accordance with the interests of the working class, and in view of the national sentiment of the oppressed nation. Marxists are committed to fight for the independence of the oppressed nation should it desire its independence.

In the case of Quebec, an oppressed nation within Canada, revolutionary socialists recognized very early the explosive potential of the national question. The struggle of the Québécois for national liberation would play a key role in the Canadian socialist revolution, declared the Canadian Troskyists, the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue

Socialiste Ouvrière. The LSA/LSO supports the right of the Québécois to establish an independent state should they so desire. At the same time, it refused to arbitrarily decide in advance of events, what course the Quebec masses would take.

The LSA/ LSO 1968 convention resolution, published as a pamphlet *Vive Ie Québec Libre,* pointed out some reasons for caution on this question: middle-class nationalist movements like the RIN had failed to attract significant working-class support, despite the large resources at their disposal; the Quebec working-class remained linked to the English Canadian workers through the trade unions and the NDP; and in many respects, the workers in the rest of Canada were politically in advance of the Québécois workers. Thus the advocacy of Quebec's separation by revolutionaries would not in and of itself raise the level of consciousness of the struggle.

While we have always seen the solution to the national question in the formation of a workers and farmers government which would nationalize the major industrial sectors thereby putting them for the first time in the hands of the French-speaking workers, to be operated in the French language, we left open the question whether the class consciousness of the Québécois working class would take form around the demand for a separate state of Quebec.

Since then, the demand for independence for Quebec has shown its capacity to mobilize many hundreds of thousands of people, not only the narrow middle class layers, but also the students and workers. At the same time, while worsening economic conditions in Canada have tremendously aggravated the chronically-depressed Quebec economy, increasing the disparities in unemployment levels, wage rates, etc., the trade unions have failed to set out on the road of independent working class political action, and the NDP has failed to implant itself in Quebec. This is both a source and a result of the growth in support for the independentist Parti Québécois.

Whatever the conjunctural reasons for the growth in independentist support, a more permanent lesson can be drawn: the mass nationalist feeling in Quebec tends definitely to take the independentist road, and this option is shared, if it is not even more pronounced, among the Quebec working class.

Revolutionary socialists must now take up the demand for the independence of Quebec. They most now advance the slogan for **an independent socialist Quebec.**

Only this demand expresses both the desires and needs of the Québécois workers; only it will allow the revolutionary socialists of Quebec to participate in and lead the struggle for national and social liberation; only it will demonstrate a genuinely revolutionary attitude on the part of English Canadians, thus, laying the basis for a fraternal collaboration of the working class of both nations in their common task of overturning bourgeois rule in the Canadian federal state.

The fact that this national discontent is intertwined with profound social discontent over unemployment, inadequate housing, exorbitant taxes, etc., far from weakening the

impact of the independentist sentiment, only renders it more profound and explosive. It signifies the inability of the Canadian ruling class to satisfy the hunger for national freedom.

Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian October revolution, spoke of this same phenomenon. Several of the oppressed nations held within the Russian empire were in the front ranks of the revolutionary struggle. For the Latvians Trotsky commented, "their nationalism was only the outer shell of an immature Bolshevism. A like process took place in Estonia." And in 1931 Trotsky spoke of the rise of separatist feelings in Catalonia, a region of Spain, in the same terms: "The separatism of the worker and peasant is the outer appearance of their social indignation."

The national question played a key role in the Russian revolution. But in Russia the oppressed nationalities were largely peasant in composition. How much more explosive, then, is the national question in Quebec, where the oppressed nation is overwhelmingly working class in composition, in a modern technically-advanced society located within the very heart of the Canada-U.S. imperialist colossus!

The nationalism of the Québécois and its new independentist direction unleashes a powerful dynamic of struggle. It is aimed directly at the Canadian capitalist state and its capitalist privileges. The struggle for an independent Quebec must inevitably give rise to the demand for independence from foreign capitalist domination. And since the Quebec national capitalist class is so weak and dependent on its foreign masters, the working class is fated to lead this struggle forward, against imperialism and onto the socialist road.

As it happens, at this early stage of the struggle for independence, it is the bourgeois Parti Québécois that has come forth at the head of the independence movement. But this reflects more than anything else the refusal of the Quebec labor leadership to undertake serious independent labor political action by establishing a labor party. The PQ through its program and actions, has shown its links with capitalism and its hesitancy to mobilize the masses for struggle. As the working class consciously enters the arena, the PQ will be brushed aside.

The demand for an independent socialist Quebec expresses this understanding of the dynamics of the workers' struggle. It must be supplemented with a series of partial, concrete demands which expose the nature of Quebec's national oppression and point the way to its solution — such demands as French unilingualism, wage parity with Ontario, nationalization of the Anglo-Canadian and U.S.-owned monopolies, etc. The demand for a Quebec labor party retains validity, and in fact takes on added significance.

It is important to open up a wide-ranging discussion among revolutionary socialists as to the meaning of the Quebec elections. This article is meant as a personal contribution to the discussion.

Fight Trudeau's wage freeze!

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photo by Cuthand

A native Indian contingent marched in the antiwar demonstration in Edmonton, April 18, to link the struggle of the Vietnamese with their own struggle for self-determination in Canada. On June 4, the Trudeau cabinet was confronted with the same demand, when the National Indian Brotherhood, speaking for all Canada's Indians and Eskimos, presented their "Red Paper." Ceremonially returning as "unacceptable" the government's "white paper" which aimed to eliminate what privileges Indians have preserved from the treaties, they demanded "more than equality" — special rights to compensate for their long oppression, including the handing over of federal powers on the reserves such as education and welfare to the Indians themselves. Trudeau admitted that the Indians had suffered centuries of oppression and did not defend the government's "white paper" — but also denied the Indians' right to enjoy special recognition as an oppressed people.

U.S. ruling class shaken by massive antiwar upsurge

by Carl Fleming

An antiwar upsurge unprecedented in size and scope swept across the United States in reaction to Nixon's escalation of the war and the police murders in Kent, Augusta and Jackson. All the major universities and colleges and hundreds of high schools went on strike, and the total number of student strikers was estimated to be in the range of ten million. The split in the ruling circles in the U.S. reflected the deep-going crisis of confidence of the American people in the government. And for the first time a significant sector of the labor movement turned to mass action against the war.

These events dramatically escalated the range of forces mobilizing in struggles against the war and the system. Not only is Washington's ability to continue the Indochinese war in question as never before, but the very stability of U.S. capitalist rule at home is now challenged.

The early days of May saw the student strike, which arose spontaneously in response to the war escalation and the murders, advance from the slogan "shut it down" to "open it up" — as the antiwar university.

This was one of the first applications of the concept of the "red university" advanced by many revolutionaries — the transformation of the university from an instrument of the ruling class for the propagation of its ideology, and research directed at swelling private corporate profits, to an institution democratically controlled by students and faculty in which all its extensive resources are used to aid the development of social struggles rooted in the community as a whole.

American antiwar activists applied this concept to the May events in the creation of the antiwar university on dozens of campuses across the United States. This will doubtless become a popular form for the student movement on many issues in the future, which can mobilize the campus to build serious alliances in action with other social forces.

Since the upsurge in early May, student activists in the U.S. have been fighting to win permanent concessions from university administrations that can lead to future upsurges taking similar forms.

Also significant was the deep split that appeared in the ruling circles of the country, that reached even into Nixon's cabinet. Nixon himself could no longer pretend to ignore anti-war protests as he had last November. He was forced to make statements recognizing the right to dissent. After initial crude attempts to pin responsibility for the Kent killings on the protesting students, Nixon implicitly admitted the government's guilt for the violence. He also had to pledge himself to a timetable of U.S. withdrawal from Cambodia.

While Nixon's gestures must be seen as

See page 5

by Dick Fidler

While grossly underpaid postal workers struggle to wrest a wage increase from the government that will barely let them keep up with the escalation in the cost of living since their last contract was signed, Finance Minister Edgar Benson was telling his provincial counterparts assembled in Winnipeg last week that the post office negotiations are a test case for the cabinet's wage control policies.

His Prices and Incomes Commissioner John Young spelled out the government's new incomes policy June 5 — a 6 percent ceiling on all wage increases including "fringe" benefits, to be applied across the board.

Where workers have already won larger increases, other workers in the same sector are not to exceed the 6 percent ceiling. Needless to add, the government has no plans to apply controls to prices, still less profits.

Questioned by the NDP in the House, Prime Minister Trudeau refused to deny the possibility that the government will make its "guidelines" compulsory. NDP leader T.C. Douglas commented June 5 that there now is "no doubt" that the government has drawn up plans to impose surtaxes on any wage gains that exceed its 6 percent ceiling.

Labor's reaction to this new assault on its living standards was a prompt and decisive rejection all down the line. United Auto Workers leader Dennis McDermott told his union's Canadian Council meeting at Port Elgin June 6 that the UAW would fight the 6 percent ceiling in all negotiations this year. It is "economic idiocy," he said, "typical of the Trudeau reactionaries." Forty thousand UAW members are heading for a contract showdown with the major car makers later this year.

The Canadian Labor Congress at its Edmonton convention last month clearly stated its intention to combat the government's attempts to make the working people, the chief victims of inflationary price rises, bear the burden of the

See page 2

Labor leader jailed in B.C., crisis looms

VANCOUVER, June 5 — All goods and assets of the Canadian Merchant Service Guild were ordered seized by the courts here on Thursday and towboat captain Arnold Davis, head of the Guild's negotiating team, was arrested. Friday morning he was sentenced to six months in jail. These actions highlight the rapidly escalating boss assault on the trade union movement across British Columbia.

The Guild has 1,200 towboat workers on strike against the B.C. Towboat Owners' Association to win basic safety and manning conditions. The union has reported over 50 tugmen killed in the last ten years because of under-manning and unsafe conditions. The giant wood monopolies, headed by Macmillan Bloedel, have consistently tried to break the towboat workers strike by using scab tugs and hot booms and barges.

The B.C. Federation of Labor has declared all tugs normally operated by guild members to be scab tugs, and all materials towed by them to be hot. The Guild has adopted a policy of defying the steady barrage of injunctions where the union feels their strike is threatened. Members of the International Woodworkers of America have refused to handle hot materials. At this point between 14,000 and 16,000 woodworkers have been idled either by company shutdowns for lack of materials or boss efforts to use hot booms and barges.

The recent vicious attack on the Guild flowed from two charges of contempt by the Guild of injunctions prohibiting the union from picketing the Macmillan Bloedel Powell River operation where use of scab tugs and hot booms had been attempted by the bosses. The B.C. Federation of Labor met this afternoon to

See page 3

Labor Challenge #10 June 1970

photo by watson

AT TORONTO ANTIWAR PROTEST. George Addison, secretary of Vietnam Mobilization Committee, speaks to 3,000 at city hall.

Large antiwar marches assert right to protest

by Carl Fleming

Thousands of Canadians took to the streets in cities across the country on May 30-31, in solidarity with Memorial Day demonstrations in the United States. These actions, against the escalation of the war, the murder of protesting students in the U.S., and Canada's complicity in the war, drew 3,000 people in Toronto, 700 in Vancouver, 250 in London, 200 in Kitchener, and 100 each in Winnipeg, Hamilton and Ottawa. They represent an important step forward for the Canadian antiwar movement, which organized the demonstrations on short notice after the universities had closed for the summer. In London and Kitchener, these were the largest antiwar demonstrations to date.

In a related action, more than 800 people from across the Prairies gathered at the government's Chemical and Biological Research Center at Suffield, Alberta over the weekend of May 29-31. The demonstrators were demanding that this germ war and nerve gas research establishment be transformed into a pollution control center.

A spirited and militant demonstration marched through the streets of downtown Vancouver on May 30.

A well-organized corps of marshalls helped prevent disruptions from having any effect on the demonstration as it marched from city hall to the court house. Previously Vancouver city council had banned the use of Victory Square for the assembly point. The Communist party had mobilized the Vancouver and District Labor Council against endorsing the action. Right-wingers mobilized at the U.S. consulate to provoke a fight with the demonstrators. Various ultraleft elements tried to disrupt the action.

Despite all these problems, the May 30 action came off smoothly and effectively in Vancouver, marking a significant turning point in the movement, which is now in a good position to move out to win mass support for future demonstrations.

The May 31 demonstration in Toronto won an important victory over forces attempting to block or disrupt the right of peaceful assembly in Civic Square. The city council unanimously reestablished the VMC's right to use sound equipment in the square, after an effective campaign by the VMC for its rights, and an intervention by NDP alderman Karl Jaffary, who pointed but how such an infringement of civil liberties was the real cause of violence on May 9.

Rumors of violence and a large mobilization of right-wing elements did not deter about 3,000 people from participating in the march and rally. So effective was the organization of marshalls by the VMC that after the committee had publicized its preparations, the Metro police felt obliged to call their own press conference to assert their intention of patrolling the march.

Ultraleft groups such as the Canadian Party of Labor and the May 4 Movement found practically no support among the demonstrators, largely high school students. The CPL-organized march to the Post Office after the rally drew no one but their own forces. The May 4 Movement, which tried to lead demonstrators away from the mass march to a non-political "Escalate People's Parks" action, was so unsuccessful that it had to scrap its plans and join with the march through downtown Toronto.

In contrast to the May 9 action, where a police attack resulted in 91 arrests, the thorough preparations and marshalling on May 31 prevented disruption, although many of the ingredients for a confrontation were there. What was apparent on May 31 was the feeling on the part of the overwhelming majority of the assembly that what was necessary was to organize to protect their rights and place the responsibility for any violence clearly on police or right-wing disruptors. A leaflet distributed by the VMC marshalls read in part:

"The VMC does not seek to organize acts of personal witness. It does not seek violence or confrontations with the police. It seeks to build a mass movement of Canadians against the war. . .

"We want the demonstration to be a **mass peaceful protest.** Any acts of violence will only play into the hands of those in power who wish to discredit and suppress demonstrations and divert attention away from the issue of the war."

labor Challenge #10-June 1970

Panel on extraparliamentary action

Waffle group debates NDP's relevance

by William Dalton

Seventy people attending the May 19 meeting of the Toronto Waffle (socialist) group of the New Democratic Party heard several guest speakers present their views on extraparliamentary action and the NDP's relation to such action. Four members were also elected at the meeting to sit on the Ontario Waffle steering committee.

The audience generally voiced opposition to panel statements attacking the potential of the NDP as a broad base for social change.

The panel included Karl Jaffary, a Toronto NDP alderman and federal NDP vice-president, John Sewell, also an alderman, Steve Langdon, past president of the University of Toronto Students Administrative Council, and Howard Buchbinder, Praxis Institute spokesman. Social worker Steve Penner chaired the meeting.

The Waffle leadership had hoped to present a spectrum of discussion on the topic: "Parliamentary politics isn't enough." The meeting, however, showed a significant gap between the panelists who largely discounted the importance of the NDP and the Wafflers who wanted to talk about the type of socialist party that they are working to build.

Jaffary criticized the party for "becoming an irrelevant monolith" too large to meet the needs of the "people who get screwed." To avoid becoming just another non-responsive party, he stated, the NDP "must come to see community organizing as its most pressing concern."

Ironically, Jaffary made much the same attack on the party as John Sewell, an anti-NDP politician, except that Sewell discounts the NDP as hopelessly "obsolete and justifiably ignored by community action groups."

Langdon added that the Waffle has made a serious error for "there is this dilemma that the Waffle has faced wrongly. We work to take over the political party and then we work to bring the party to extraparliamentary politics."

He totally missed the point of the Waffle's Dunlop campaign — that a major aim of the Waffle caucus is to change the party now precisely by orienting it to extraparliamentary actions which concretize the Waffle's program.

At one point, the panel agreed that working in extraparliamentary actions alone would bring citizens inevitably to socialism. Refuting this view strongly, Giles Endicott of the Food workers union pointed out that organizing alone does not necessarily lead to socialism. "Defensive organizations are more irrelevant than parties if they have no ideology. No strands link them to the whole system. The party is the joining thread. You must get people from the small issues. . .to socialism. We must give direction to smaller problems." Jaffary replied to this, "If you want a party, I say it has to find out who is getting screwed and why. That is the socialism of the seventies."

Helen Olson, a Waffle supporter from High Park, commented on the sheer wasted energy directed at non-programmatic struggles by pointing out that the Waffle intervention in the Dunlop closing, while being a good experience in organizing, had not been very fruitful in raising the level of awareness of the broader political issues involved. The Waffle had offered no alternative to the political program of the union officials and had failed to involve a cross-section of the workers.

Olson furthermore stated that "the weakness of citizens' groups of the Stop Spadina and Pollution Probe type is their isolation from the broader issues of the class struggle. They reject mass political actions that aim to take the power away from those (like the Dunlop directors) who control the economy. The NDP must be a party of mass political action which will confront these issues."

NDP feminist group

by Joan Newbigging

About 35 women from centers around Toronto met at an NDP women's liberation conference in Toronto recently to map out resolutions and strategy for the upcoming NDP provincial convention. Strong demands were worked out on a series of questions including abortion, day care, women and the law, and education. The group decided to meet as an open caucus throughout the convention and to demand that one-third of the members of the incoming provincial executive be women and be elected by women only.

This gathering showed the seriousness with which women's liberation activists in the NDP are going about the task of trying to transform the party into the political voice of the women's liberation movement.

labor Challenge #10 June 1970

'Back labor,' B.C. NDP told

by Gary Porter

VANCOUVER — "The NDP, the trade unions, the farmers organizations and the cooperatives must join hands and tell the government that we are not going to let them put the working people of this country in chains while the corporate elite pick their pockets.

This was the call of federal NDP leader T.C. Douglas to the 509 delegates assembled at the June 5-6 annual convention of the B.C. NDP in Chilliwack.

In a rousing speech Douglas challenged the convention to join in the battle against the present anti-labor drive across the country and in B.C. in particular. He denounced the federal government's drive to limit incomes as anti-labor, pointing out that its policy would freeze the inequities of the present distribution of wealth. But he repeated the NDP's ambiguous endorsation of the principle of a prices and incomes policy, provided it includes limits on profits and provisions for income redistribution.

The NDP leader also took up the debate over the affiliation of trade unions which broke out in the party after the electoral defeat in the August 1969 B.C. election. "Don't believe those who are against you" he told the delegates in reference to the big business press which ascribes all problems in the NDP to its labor connection. Douglas told the convention that after the party got rid of labor the press would demand that socialists, then youth and then women be purged.

Earlier in the convention a report signed by all the B.C. NDP MLAs had been presented which amounted to a declaration of independence of the MLAs from organized labor. Their position was summed up in the last sentence of the statement which read: "Significant as the organized labor movement is, the public interest must prevail." The report was received with considerable unrest in the convention.

On the final day of the convention a resolution which "reaffirms the strong ties between the party and the organized labor movement . . .and invites further affiliations from the labor movement" was passed with only 3 dissenting votes. The MLAs did not contest the resolution.

The left-wing B.C. Waffle group intervened in the convetion with a full list of candidates except for the post of party leader. MLA Dave Barrett was elected to that post unopposed.

Barrett voted with the Waffle group at the Winnipeg federal convention in November, but does not participate in their activities. Far from being identified with a consistent socialist viewpoint, he has been a leading public spokesman for the group which wants to sever the party's formal affiliations with the organized labor movement.

Unfortunately, the Waffle caucus, while not formally endorsing Barrett for leader, chose not to field its own candidate, in spite of strong urgings from some socialists in the caucus that it do so.

Women members of the Waffle group played the leading role in passing a resolution to remove abortion from the Criminal Code and to provide free abortion and birth control through public clinics. The Waffle involved a considerable number of new forces and established itself on a wider basis than ever before in B.C.

In another important resolution, the convention voted that the party executive and the MLAs should help man towboat workers' picket lines. The towboat workers are under heavy attack by the courts and have defied injunctions to defend their picket lines and their strike. A collection was taken for chief towboat negotiator Arnie Davis, who was sentenced last week to six months in jail in connection with the strike.

labor Challenge #10 June 1970

Manon Léger

New LSO organizer poses future tasks

by Phil Courneyeur

MONTREAL — The Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière has come out of the April Quebec national assembly elections facing new challenges and opportunities for growth and consolidation. A big step forward was taken with the recent selection of Manon Léger as organizer of the Montreal branch. Manon Léger, a young Québécois, typifies the recent radicalization of the Quebec youth in a socialist and revolutionary direction.

Shortly after her election campaign, Léger summed up the general results of the elections, especially the strong surge of support for the Parti Quebécois: "The decisive sectors of the Quebec working class are rallying to the demand for an independent Quebec. This is positive because it is the working class which has to lead our national struggle. We want a workers and farmers Quebec — real independence.

"The challenge posed by this shift in the national consciousness of the workers is to infuse the fight for self-determination with a socialist and working class perspective and program. A free Quebec means the expropriation of foreign imperialist holdings and workers control of industry and commerce.

"The biggest task facing the revolutionary socialists in Quebec — the LSO — is to broaden their Quebécois leadership and to deepen their participation in the national struggle."

The LSO, which campaigned for a "free, French and socialist Quebec" during the election campaign, is now considering a proposal to raise the demand for an "independent socialist Quebec" as the central thrust of its transitional program. Arthur Young the editor of La Lutte Ouvrière has put forward this proposal in a discussion article published in both the June 1 issue of Labor Challenge and the June issue of La Lutte Ouvrière.

Independence: the Marxist view – Discussion on Quebec

(from Labor Challenge, June 1970)

In our last issue Arthur Young opened up a discussion on recent developments in Quebec, in particular the meaning of the April 29 election results (see article "Workers Rally to Demand for Independence"). The following article is a further contribution to the discussion.

* * * *

by Dick Fidler

Arthur Young's analysis of the Quebec election results in the June 1 issue of *Labor Challenge* makes some important proposals requiring urgent consideration by Canadian socialists. The evidence he presents to show the upsurge of support for separatism among French Canadian workers convincingly bears out his contention that a turning point has been reached in the Quebecois struggle for self-determination; that the national consciousness of Quebec workers has undergone a qualitative change in recent months.

Young concludes that "the mass nationalist feeling in Quebec tends definitely to take the independentist road, and this option is shared, if it is not even more pronounced, among the Quebec working class." He argues that revolutionary socialists must now go beyond defense of the right of self-determination for the Quebec nation, the right of the Québécois to separate if they so wish, to advocate separation — an independent socialist Quebec.

Marx was an early and forceful advocate of independence for Ireland, and held that the English workers would never be free until Ireland had achieved its independence from the British crown. His views were carried forward by James Connolly, the martyred Irish labor leader, who built a working class independence movement in the early years of this century around the slogan for the "Workers' Republic of Ireland."

The revolutionary socialists in Czarist Russia also played a key role in developing the Marxist position on the national question. Capitalism came late to the Russian empire, where 57 percent of the inhabitants were of non-Russian nationality, and the revolt of these nations against Czarist oppression was instrumental in preparing and extending the forces of socialist revolution which triumphed in October 1917. The Bolsheviks led by Lenin early understood the importance of the national struggle, and strenuously defended the famous 'Point 9' in their party program, which advocated the right of self-determination up to and including separation, against critics in the European left who regarded this defense of the right to secede as a capitulation to bourgeois nationalism.

But the Bolsheviks, who constantly emphasized the necessity for the proletariat not to subordinate its line on the national question to that of the bourgeoisie, made a distinction between defending the right to secession and actually advocating separation. In general, Lenin said, "the proletariat confines itself, so to say, to the negative demand for the recognition of the **right** to self-determination," while at the same time consistently appealing to the workers for international unity in their class struggle. But it was the view of Lenin and other leading socialists that the Polish socialists, for example, were "fully entitled" to advance the demand for political independence. "From the point of view of the socialists, it is absolutely a mistake to ignore the tasks of national liberation in a situation where national oppression exists."

In other words, the program of revolutionists in the oppressed nation would be incomplete if it did not pose national demands going beyond the mere defense of the right of self-determination.

Whether or not socialists should demand independence in a specific situation is contingent on several considerations including the relative strength of the working class movement in the oppressor nation, the organizational and political links between the working classes of the oppressor and oppressed nations, the relative tempo of the labor struggles in the respective nations, and above all whether the mass of the population in the oppressed nation shows a clear inclination to mobilize in support of the demand for political independence in its struggle for national liberation. Lenin noted that "it is impossible to estimate beforehand all the possible correlations between the bourgeois liberation movements of the oppressed nations and the proletarian emancipation movement of the oppressing nation" — and for that reason he refused to take a categorical position in advance for or against separation of the oppressed nations.

In practice, at no time in the course of the pre-October events did the Bolsheviks support separatism. The concentration of the industrial proletariat in Russia itself, and the leading role of the Russian workers in all three revolutions of 1905 and 1917, meant that the relatively advanced socialist movement in the metropolis showed the path of their own development to the workers and peasants of the oppressed national minorities, and laid the basis for subsequent free and equal federation in the Soviet "union" as national soviet republics.

But even after the victory of October 1917, the Bolsheviks continued to uphold the right of nations within the Soviet republic to self-determination, indicating thereby that the party did not at all consider the national question — which was inherited from precapitalist conditions — as solved once and for all. In power, the Bolsheviks of course actively encouraged the development of national culture and language among all the non-Russian republics and peoples, and even went so far as to experiment with the establishment of an autonomous Jewish national republic, Biro Bibjan (Birobidjan), within the borders of the Soviet workers state.

Following Lenin's death and the degeneration of the Soviet party and regime under Stalin, Lean Trotsky had occasion several times to deepen the Leninist analysis by applying it to the question of separatism where it arose in relatively advanced countries.

When separatist sentiment in the early 1930s became an important political expression of opposition among the Catalonians to the reactionary Spanish central government in Madrid, Trotsky noted its progressive significance in the working class and peasantry as "the outer appearance (envelope) of their social indignation," and stressed the importance for socialists to defend the democratic demand for the right of self-determination of Catalonia. But the proletarian vanguard should adopt the slogan of separation only if it expressed the views of the majority of the population of Catalonia, he said. This could be expressed "by means of a free plebiscite, or by an assembly of representatives of Catalonia, or by the influential parties followed by the Catalonian masses, or finally by a Catalonian national revolt." On a later occasion, Trotsky expressed himself in favor of a plebiscite on the issue of separation.

In the case of the U.S. Blacks, Trotsky applied a similar analysis to an oppressed minority which lacks a national territory as well as other normal attributes of a nation. At that time, the 1920s, the leading Black activists expressed their goal as one of "integration" in American society. But Trotsky warned his U.S. co-thinkers of the Socialist Workers Party against taking this demand as fixed for all time. Capitalist society has revealed itself to be incapable of assimilating the Black population, he noted. Crucial to the development of the Black workers' views on this question would be the attitude of this white labor bureaucracy and the backward white workers who are permeated with racist prejudices. If at any time the Black masses showed they want to follow separate path of development - no matter what form the demand took, separate state, back to Africa, or simply establishment of their own organizations and communities, etc. - the revolutionary socialists were duty-bound to support them. History has shown how prescient Trotsky was: today the mass movement among the Blacks for control of their own communities and schools clearly points the way toward mobilizing this key sector of the American working class in independent political action around a program for revolutionary change.

Another relevant instance is that of the Soviet Ukraine. In 1939, Trotsky advanced the slogan for a united, free and independent workers' and peasants' Ukraine. Again his position was based on the clear evidence that the Ukrainians' opposition to Stalinism takes the form of a profound dissatisfaction with their national fate and a "wish to change it drastically," that "the broad masses of the Ukrainian people wish to separate from the USSR."

Here, Trotsky explained, the demand for independence, while expressing a democratic principle, takes on additional revolutionary significance because it "is aimed directly against the Moscow bureaucracy," it "opens up for the proletarian party the opportunity of playing a leading role in the national

Ukrainian movement in Poland, Rumania and Hungary," and thereby "drive the revolutionary movement forward and increase the specific weight of the proletarian vanguard." That the demand for independence is raised for a nation already within the orbit of a workers' state, serves to underscore the importance which Trotsky attributed to the national liberation struggle as a key question of revolutionary strategy.

The demand for an independent Socialist Quebec is posed in this framework.

The rise of a powerful movement for national emancipation in Quebec, with its distinct territory, language, customs and historical tradition, and situated in the heartland of imperialism on the North American continent, has presented socialists with an unprecedented opportunity to apply these teachings on the national question to an oppressed nation where the working class constitutes the immense majority of the population

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labor Challenge
#10 Jun 1970

FREE VALLIERES-GAGNON, roared thousands of youths in march through Montreal last fall. Mass united front demonstrations like this built public support for defense of the jailed revolutionists. Among front rank leaders are Jacques Larue-Langlois (left), chairman of defense committee, and (center) Walter Blumenthal (Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière) and Stan Gray (Front de Liberation Populaire).

Vallieres released after 44 months; major victory for united front defense

Pierre Vallieres' release from prison May 26 after forty-four months of detention without bail marked a major victory in the struggle for civil liberties in Quebec.

A prominent writer and spokesman for the Quebec nationalist movement linked with the Front de Liberation Quebecois, Vallières was charged with murder in 1966 in connection with a terrorist bombing. When he was brought to trial after interminable delays, the prosecution produced no evidence linking him to the bombing.

For almost four years the courts refused to grant him bail, even though no conviction could be made to stick on any of the major charges laid against him. His detention, and that of his colleague Charles Gagnon, became a rallying point for opposition to the growing political repression in Quebec.

When bail was finally granted on the various charges, the required $7,500 was raised from a broad public collection including substantial donations from affiliates of each of the three major Quebec trade union federations.

The conviction was thrown out by the appeal court on the grounds that he had been tried for his political beliefs. The guilty verdict of a subsequent trial on the same charge is now being appealed; yet another trial is considered quite possible. A variety of other charges are still pending.

Charles Gagnon has meanwhile been acquitted of the murder charge.

The Committee to Aid the Vallières-Gagnon group rallied wide support for the prisoners both in Quebec and internationally. An editorial in Le Devoir May 22, signed Jean-Claude Leclerc, revealed how the committee's efforts were instrumental in winning their release.

Leclerc enumerated the impressive list of condemnations of the persecution of Vallières, including that of the representative of the International League for the Rights of Man, and expressed his alarm at the undermining of public confidence in bourgeois "justice." "The series of blows suffered by Quebec justice is truly stupifying," he wrote, "The whole affair. . . can now be seen as one of the most powerful corrosives ever at work here against our judicial institutions."

The victory won by the Vallières-Gagnon committee is an important precedent in Quebec, where political repression has rarely before met effective united opposition. The committee has declared its intention to continue its work. The Vallières-Gagnon trials still drag on, while a large number of political prisoners remain in Quebec jails.

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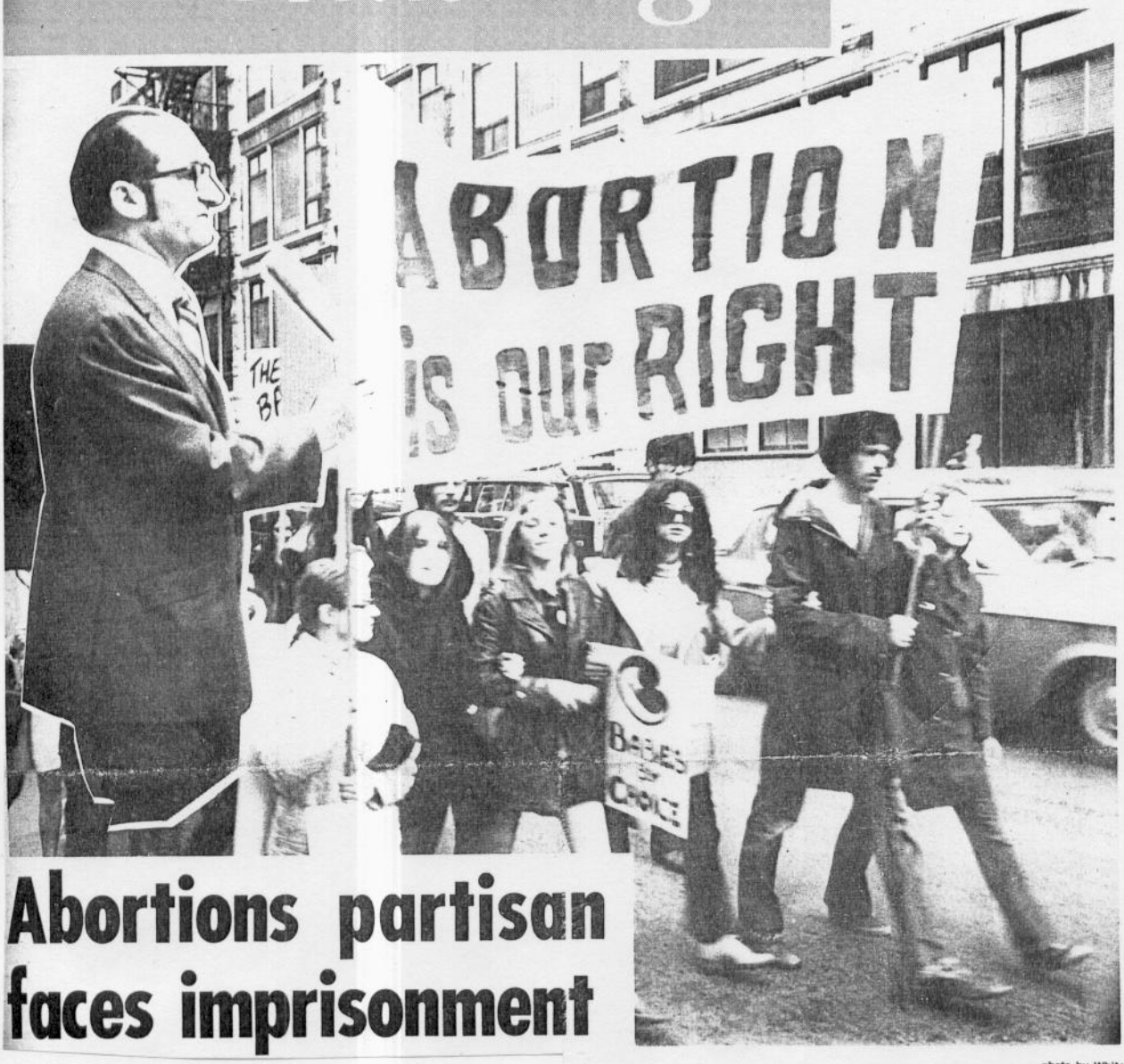

Abortions partisan faces imprisonment

photo by White

Dr. Henry Morgentaler (inset), president of the Humanist Society of Canada, faces grave criminal charges for having allegedly performed illegal abortions. Dr. Morgentaler was speaker at Ottawa demonstration this spring (above) which demanded free abortions on demand.

by Penny Simpson

The arrest of Dr. Henry Morgentaler at the beginning of June in Montreal on charges of having carried out illegal abortions was a direct blow against the entire movement for women's rights. President of the Humanist Society of Canada, Dr. Morgentaler is the most outspoken advocate of legalized abortions in the Canadian medical profession. His arrest is a cynical attack that must not go unanswered, because it spells death for thousands of women not only in Montreal, but across the country.

The consequences of the arrest, which the government could not have failed to foresee, have been frightening and murderous. Montreal, a month ago, was the safest and cheapest place in the entire country for abortions. The department of population studies at the University of Montreal says that some 200 illegal abortions a week take place in the area. None of these are being handled by qualified doctors since the June 4 arrest — all other doctors have stopped giving abortions for fear of further criminal charges.

Within two weeks, at least one woman has died of a botched abortion, according to the Montreal Star, and in one hospital alone, admissions for abortion complications have quadrupled — from a high of three per month to at least three a week. The deaths and maiming from butcher abortions are the responsibility of the federal government. It is their so-called liberalized abortion law of 1968, with its

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labor Challenge #11 Jun 1970

P. 2

hospital review boards sitting in judgment over desperate women, that have made it even harder to get a safe abortion. The present law declares any doctor and any woman a criminal for not accepting the hospitals' sanctimonious refusals of 99% of all abortion requests.

Significantly, Dr. Morgantaler has been charged with conspiring to commit, and the performance of, an abortion, less than a month after his appearance as a featured speaker at the Abortion Caravan rally in Ottawa. He has pleaded not guilty, although he does not deny that he does abortions. The Crown has also set a dangerous precedent by charging a young woman with conspiracy to abort herself.

Dr. Morgantaler says that he was held overnight without being charged and roughed up by the police who raided his clinic. His files and equipment have been seized, his preliminary hearing arbitrarily closed to the public, and a postponement of proceedings refused, although his lawyer had only three days to prepare for the hearing. Petition is being made to a higher court to challenge the objectivity and conduct of the judge.

The response to the arrest has been quick and effective. In less than two days, the women's liberation movement and other supporters of legalized abortions organized a demonstration of 2-300 people outside Morgantaler's preliminary hearing. A delegation of doctors including Dr. Morgantaler, Dr. Maurice Jobin of the Association for Abortion on Demand, and Dr. Serge Mongeau, director of the Family Planning Center, went to the federal minister of justice on June 16 to demand a moratorium on abortion charges against doctors until the law can be repealed.

Montreal doctors, long silent and dismissed as Church-dominated and reactionary, have responded in other ways. A committee has been established to investigate hospital admissions records since January 1 to find out the extent of botched abortions, and they are also circulating a petition among the doctors of the province in favor of abortion law repeal.

In only two days, they obtained the signatures of 187 doctors, and published the petition as a full-page ad in the Montreal Star. It reads: "We, the undersigned medical doctors, believe that it is intolerable that women should have to die as a result of incomepetent, illegal abortions while the law does not permit doctors to help women with unwanted pregnancies. We believe that the present Canadian abortion laws are inadequate, unreasonable, and cruel. They need immediate revision. The way to prevent deaths of young women due to incompetent abortions is *abortion law repeal.*"

A spokesman for the Doctors for Abortion Law Repeal said, "Our next statement — and there will be another — will have 1,800 names." The petition has already been signed by doctors ranging from chiefs of hospital departments to interns and residents

Other responses have been significant. The Montreal Star, the largest circulation daily in the city, had a lead editorial June 16 calling for a law similar to that enacted in New York State, allowing abortion up to a fixed time limit on the decision of a woman and her doctor. One of the most popular weekly papers, Le Petit Journal, featured four different stories and an editorial on the abortion crisis in its June 21 issue. One article ended, "Mr. Trudeau declared in Vancouver a few days ago that the population is not yet ready to accept such a law (for abortion on demand). Pontificating women of 50 and older can refuse to have abortions, that's their right; but let's not be willing murderers of...all those who have committed no other crime than that of being the victims of a hypocritical society."

Montreal women's liberation groups are planning a broadly-sponsored public

See page 7

Morgentaler

Continued from page 1

protest meeting for July 3, and are calling on women's liberation groups across the country to hold similar meetings. The response of the Montreal doctors makes it clear that there are deep divisions in the medical profession, and it should be possible to get doctors in other cities to organize a petition similar to the Montreal one, and publish it.

Among the first to defend Dr. Morgentaler after his arrest was the federal New Democratic Party, which co-sponsored a press conference June 11 in Ottawa to argue the case for removal of abortion from the Criminal Code. NDP MPs Grace McInnis and Andrew Brewin participated in the conference together with Dr. Morgentaler.

It is vitally important that a broad and effective defense campaign be organized. The utmost pressure must be put on the government to withdraw charges against Henry Morgantaler and the young woman who had the abortion, to defeat this attack against the abortion movement, to force an immediate repeal of the murderous Canadian abortion laws, and win the goal of free abortions on demand.

labor Challenge #11 Jun 1970

Women's liberation debate

What kind of movement

by Marlie Ritchie

TORONTO — The launching of the Toronto Women's Caucus by a meeting of 25 women here on June 9 marked a major step forward for the entire women's liberation movement in Toronto.

Unlike the existing groups, the Caucus is dedicated to building a democratic, broadly based movement that can appeal to all women through education and action. The only membership requirement is that women support women's liberation and pay annual dues.

The formation of the group flowed from discussions in the Toronto women's liberation movement on its future. Three groups have existed in Toronto — the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM), the New Feminists, and the NDP Women's Liberation Movement.

The NDP group has been very active with preparations for the fall Ontario NDP convention. Primarily involved with making the NDP a voice for women's liberation, the group has been very successful. However its appeal is limited to the NDP milieu.

The other two groups, the Toronto Women's Liberation Movement and the New Feminists, have not met the challenge of organizing the large numbers of women coming to the women's liberation movement.

The two biggest problems have been sectarianism in the groups, and the analysis of the enemy of women's liberation — is it men, or the system in which we live?

The latter problem was posed by the decision of the New Feminists, announced in the May issue of their publication, The New Feminist, to re-organize into "consciousness-raising" cells "to do the real work of radical feminism." In outlining what the work of the cells would be they said, "We regard our personal experience, and our feelings about that experience, as the basis for an analysis of our common situation. We cannot rely on existing ideologies as they are all products of male supremacist culture. We question every generalization and accept none that are not confirmed by our experience."

This analysis implies two things. First, it seeks the roots of women's oppression not in the system in which we all live but rather in our own personal experiences. This leads to actions only on the personal level rather than the broad mass actions which can strike at the social roots of the oppression of women. Second, it denies the relevance of the experiences of women's liberation fighters over the last 150 years, and the valuable lessons they have learned about the nature of the enemy and how to conduct the struggle.

It is true that women's consciousness must be raised. But withdrawal from mass action, far from accelerating this process, hinders it both by limiting education to a small elite and cutting it off from the experiences of the struggle where the vital lessons are to be learned. The consciousness of women will be raised as large numbers of women become involved in the struggle, face the reality of the forces which keep us oppressed, and discuss the conclusions which flow from these experiences.

In an article in the June issue of Pedestal, publication of the Vancouver Women's Caucus, Mary Trew writes about the problem of sectarianism. The attitude prevalent in some groups, including the Vancouver Women's Caucus, the Toronto WLM and the New Feminists, is that women who do not have a pure position — either "revolutionary" or "radical feminist" — on women's liberation are to be excluded from participating in decisions and activities of the group.

The same attitude has blocked effective united action by groups of differing views. This quite evidently occurred on the otherwise highly successful abortion caravan, at its Toronto stop-over. As Trew says: "There, a broad steering committee had been set up with a number of groups participating — the WLM, the New Feminists, the NDP Women's Caucus, and the Young Socialists. The latter three groups were, in effect, excluded from decision making meetings by the Toronto WLM group with the acquiescence of some of the women on the caravan. . .Had these three groups as a result withdrawn from

→p.2

p.2 **Marlie Ritchie**

the abortion action, we would have mobilized considerably fewer women, drawn fewer into the struggle that was destined to radicalize every woman involved."

Throughout the development of the women's liberation movement it is essential for all groups to unite to work on the big issues of abortion, day care, equal pay, etc. No one group has a monopoly on the fight for free abortions. Every women's group has to actively participate in the struggle if the movement is going to grow.

The other kind of exclusionism which often occurs in the movement is the exclusion of members in groups from the decision-making process. It is often the practice for decisions to be based on the achievement of a "consensus" of the group. Discussions go on for hours until a consensus is reached or until any opposition is too tired to continue arguing. In such discussions it is only the most outspoken women who participate, not the women just coming into the movement. Votes are seldom taken so that there are often differences of opinion on what the consensus was.

As Trew points out, "All these factors add up to a thoroughly unhealthy decision-making process — one which, in such a large group, is extremely undemocratic." Only through thorough discussion and democratic votes can we avoid the consensus brand of elitist leadership, and arm women to explain and defend the policies of women's liberation.

The Toronto Women's Caucus is a major step by Toronto women to come to grips with these problems in the women's liberation movement. It has formed a high school fraction of the caucus and called a conference June 27 for all young women to discuss such questions as the socialization of women, women in the schools and the organizing of high school women in the women's liberation movement.

This development represents a most positive process of clarification that is taking place within the movement as it continues to expand and seeks to grapple with the tasks before it. As this develops it will become all the more important, and possible, that all sections of the movement be prepared, despite their differing analyses, to unite in action.

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Contact socialists in your area

EDMONTON. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 10402-97 St., 424-7644.

FREDERICTON. Y.S., 344 Dundonald St., 454-2435

GUELPH. YS, c/o Jim Onyschuk, 350 Paisley Rd., Apt. C, 822-1035.

HAMILTON. LSA, YS, 267 Charlton Ave. W., 529-9302.

KITCHENER-WATERLOO. LSA, YS, Box 921, Kitchener.

LONDON. YS, c/o Steve Harding, 1462 Trafalgar, 451-8252.

MONTREAL. Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montreal 129, 861-3018.

OTTAWA. LSA, YS, 365-1/ 2 Bank St., Ottawa 4, 232-1054.

RICHMOND HILL. LSA, Box 281, Richmond Hill.

TORONTO. LSA, YS, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto 2B, 363-9618.

SARNIA. YS, c/o Ian McKay, 870 Tudor Close, 542-2700.

SASKATOON. YS, Box 704, Saskatoon, 242-8175.

VANCOUVER. LSA, YS, 1208 Granville St., 688-5924.

WINNIPEG. LSA, YS, 211 Graham Ave., Winnipeg, 943-7791 or 452-8518.

labor Challenge #11 Jun 1970

Socialist classes underway

by Donna Nelson

A program of summer schools across the country has been launched by the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists, to conduct intensive educational programs on the theory and traditions of the socialist movement.

At Camp Poundmaker on the Salmon River, 125 miles east of Toronto, four special educatonal weekends are planned. At the first, held June 20-21, close to fifty socialists from across Ontario discussed "The NDP, the trade unions and the struggle for power." The second weekend, a project of the Young Socialists, is entitled "Lennon vs. Lenin" — two conflicting approaches to what society is and how to change it. It will be held July 4-5.

Subsequent weekends will discuss woman's liberation (July 25-26) and the origins of Stalinism (Aug. 15-16). Buses and cars will be transporting participants from all corners of Ontario to the camp on these weekends. As well as educational study, there will be swimming, baseball, hiking — and fun for all. Further information is available from the LSA and YS at 334 Queen St. W., Toronto.

In Ottawa, weekly seminars are planned throughout the summer on such questions as the contradictions of capitalism, the lessons of 1917, Canada and the U.S. empire, and the growth of Quebec nationalism. A short presentation will be given at each of these informal meetings followed by questions and discussion. They are held Mondays at 8 p.m. at 380 Frank St., Apt. 8 starting June 22.

In Vancouver two special weekends are planned. On June 27 and 28 there will be three classes on the growth and future of the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. The August 1-2 weekend is entitled "We have been naught, we shall be all" — a series of discussions on the working class and revolutionary politics. Other classes on U.S. imperialism, Quebec and Women's Liberation will be held on Monday nights in July.

Special summer educational programs are also being held in Montreal, and other areas. For further details contact the League for Socialist Action or Young Socialists in your area.

photos by Levis and Lejderman

CHE'S APPEAL. Desire to escalate struggle for socialism as reply to Nixon's imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia is expressed by handlettered sign at mass demonstration near Swiss embassy in Havana — "Create One, Two, Three Vietnams, Down With Imperialism."